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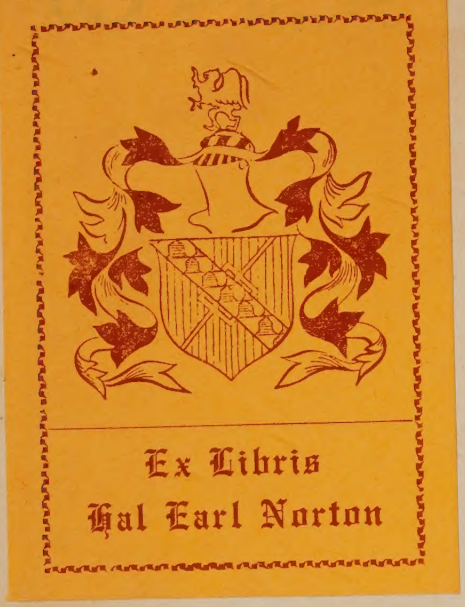

"THE SCHOLAR AS PREACHER"

(FIFTH SERIES)

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN
AND OTHER SERMONS

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN

AND OTHER SERMONS

PREACHED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

BY

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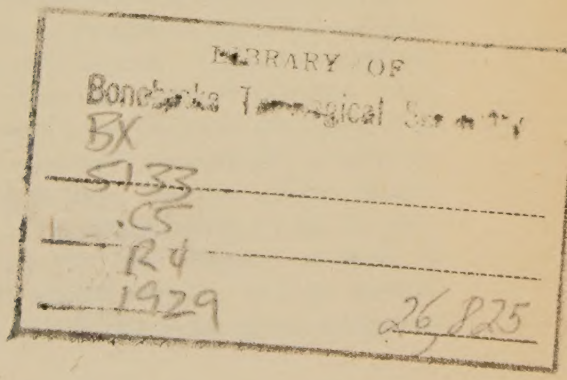
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PREFACE

THIS volume contains twenty-two Sermons or Studies, which, with the exception of the nineteenth, were preached in Westminster Abbey. The nineteenth was preached before the University of Oxford, and is therefore of an academical character. Of the remaining twenty-one some also are of the same character, but, as they were not preached before a university congregation but before a congregation of intelligent men and women of various professions and callings, it was the aim of the preacher to reproduce them in such language and forms of thought as would be intelligible to the trained judgment of his hearers. The first nine and the nineteenth deal with critical and doctrinal questions, which presuppose not infrequently a knowledge of facts and critical studies, of which the present work can only give an abbreviated account, if so much as that. The keen student of such subjects must often refer to critical works on the Gospels, such as Canon Streeter's *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins*, and the works quoted therein; and the present writer takes the liberty of referring to his special studies on Jewish Eschatology.

Throughout these critical sermons, the preacher has made truth his chief aim and therewith the spiritual enlightening, comforting, and invigorating of his hearers. He cannot, of course, hope to secure the acceptance of his teaching in Tennessee or Rome. To both of these self-constituted

authorities and all akin to them in other Churches he would recommend the study of Dr. Salmond's unanswerable *Infallibility of the Church.* The Bible is not a revelation but the history of a Divine Revelation, ever advancing from even pagan beliefs and practices to others of the highest spiritual character. The end of this Revelation awaits fulfilment in later worlds. Furthermore there is no such thing as an infallible system of doctrine. No such system has been entrusted to any Church, least of all to a Church which changes its requirements for communion nearly every century. In any case it is the Christ-like life to which the Divine promises are made.

R. H. C.

4 Little Cloisters,
Westminster Abbey,
September 1929.

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Beckwith, *The Idea of God.*
Broad, *The Mind and its Place in Nature.*
Brown, *Science and Personality.*
Brown, *Mind and Personality.*
Caird, E., *The Evolution of Religion*, 2 vols.
Inge, *Faith and its Psychology.*
M'Dougall, *Body and Mind.*
Martineau, *A Study of Religion.*
Martineau, *Seat of Authority in Religion.*
Mellone, *The Immortal Hope.*
Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness.*
Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of God.*
Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of Immortality.*
Rashdall, *The Theory of Good and Evil*, 2 vols.
Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion.*
Simpson, J. Y., *Man and the Attainment of Immortality.*
Sorley, *Moral Values and the Idea of God.*
Storr, *Christianity and Immortality.*
Tsanoff, *The Problem of Immortality.*
Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, 2 vols.
Ward, *The Realm of Ends.*
Webb, *God and Personality.*

This list might be multiplied indefinitely.

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"If a man die, shall he live again?"—Job xiv. 14.

Prophecy, Apocalyptic, Eschatology. Tribal Conception of Yahweh persisting down to 800 B.C. Sheol—a pagan conception. Rise of ethical monotheism in eighth century, but a definite doctrine of monotheism unknown till about 600. The doctrine of Man's Resurrection unknown till 300 B.C. Belief in Sheol conceived as the final abode of the disembodied spirits of all men, seeing that they had received full requital for all their deeds in this world, not doubted till about 400 B.C. The criticism of this so-called orthodox doctrine originated in the teaching of Jeremiah—that the individual, and not the nation, was the religious unit and as such had direct communion with God.

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[1] Personality is a modern conception, but of course not the thing itself. It has no Greek equivalent. Many thinkers hold that it is impossible to define it.

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Two classes of miracles—spiritual and material. On the latter our Lord sets some value, but on one occasion indubitably condemns those who wrought such miracles and refuses to acknowledge such miracles as evidence of a spiritual life. So likewise did the Rabbis. Hence physical miracles are merely unintelligible wonders. To the first class—that of spiritual miracles—belongs the resurrection of the spirit, which in the measure of its oneness with God is enabled to clothe itself anew in a body adapted to express itself in any of the million worlds that God has created. Since the transformation of the faithful follows immediately on the death of the physical body, it constitutes also their Good Friday and likewise their Easter Sunday. There is no gap in the spiritual life or personality, least of all in that of our Lord.

[1] See footnote, p. 36.

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With St. Paul's teaching we may compare that of our Lord, who denied the resurrection of the flesh in His controversy with the Sadducees; declared that the Patriarchs had already risen, in that they were alive in the fullest sense, seeing that they are "alive unto God," and traced the doctrine back to Moses in the words "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all (the faithful) live unto Him." The faithful departed, therefore, have already risen from the dead, not as mutilated personalities, but as personalities enjoying an ever-growing and larger life. Again, He brushes aside the theological platitude of Judaism that Lazarus would rise at the last day, declaring that He is the Resurrection and the Life—thereby identifying the spiritual and the resurrection life.

The faithful, therefore, live on through that change which men call death, and which we might call their Good Friday and likewise their Easter Sunday. If all the faithful so "live unto God," then our Lord cannot be conceived as a mutilated personality—even for a moment, when His spirit forsook the material body on the cross. Physical death is a mere episode in the life of the faithful. The resurrection life is a present fact and not a future possibility. Christ had no further relation with His physical body. The legend of the empty tomb was due to the spiritual incapacities of the Apostles, owing to which they failed to recognize the Risen Christ till the second day after the Crucifixion, though all those two days Christ was present in their midst for those who could recognize Him. The closing chapters of the Gospels are late.

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THE RESURRECTION OF MAN

I

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN, ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT[1]

HISTORICAL STUDY OF THIS DEVELOPMENT

"If a man die, shall he live again?"—Job xiv. 14.

MY subject for this and the next four Sunday afternoons is of supreme interest to every son of man. It is a living and practical question, and accordingly every circumstance connected with its origin and development in Israel and Judah, and its further development in Christianity, cannot fail to be of the deepest moment. This belief in Israel arose not in the abstract reasonings of the schools, as in Greece, but in the mortal strife of spiritual experience, and thus, though I must perforce draw your attention to the history of the origins and growth of this doctrine, it cannot be a matter of merely historical interest, but is full of practical importance for all who are seeking to live the life, not of nature's ephemera, but of God's own children. For in

[1] Some sections of this and the next sermon are taken *verbatim* from my lecture on *Immortality* (Oxford University Press, 1912), which in its turn is based on my *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (A. & C. Black, 2nd ed., 1913).

this development from the complete absence of such a belief in Israel to a positive and spiritual faith in a blessed future life, all alike can read—writ large on the page of history from 800 B.C. to A.D. 100—a transcript of their own spiritual struggles, as they toil up the steep ascent that leads to the eternal City of God. Israel's history in this respect is a national Pilgrim's Progress, which every child of man must repeat in his own spiritual experience, whatever his mental or moral endowments may be, and the goal is as assured to the wayfaring man, though a fool, as it is to the learned and the wise.

Before we proceed to trace the various stages in Israel's conceptions of the future life, we must define the three terms, Prophecy, Apocalyptic, and Eschatology, and their relation to each other, since they will frequently recur as we advance.

Now, first of all, Prophecy and Apocalyptic in ancient Judaism occupy to a certain extent the same field, but the outlook of the latter is immeasurably greater. Prophecy devoted itself to the present, and only to the future as arising organically out of the present. It concerned itself mainly with the nation and its hopes, and gave birth in due time to the *national* hope of a Messianic Kingdom. Later Prophecy, it is true, in the teaching of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, concerned itself also with the lot of the *individual*, and developed a doctrine of individual responsibility of an intensely ethical character. But its outlook was wholly confined to this life. No hope of a blessed future dawned on Jeremiah or on Ezekiel, nor on the yet later prophets Joel and Zechariah.

Apocalyptic, on the other hand, was indeed like Prophecy interested in the present, but its outlook was not confined to the present. It regarded the present rather as a stage in the development of the Divine plan. With this end in view

it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, the ultimate triumph of righteousness, and the final consummation of all things. Apocalyptic was thus, in short, a Semitic philosophy of religion, and as such it was ever asking: Whence? wherefore? whither? In an apocalypse there was, therefore, an organic, historical, and logical connection between all its parts. In a prophetic work there were no such bonds. Each section in Prophecy is independent of the rest. But Apocalyptic was not only interested in life from the standpoint of *thought*. It was intensely ethical. When, in any great crisis of the world's history, the good cause was overthrown and the bad triumphant, its insistent demand ever was: Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? In the more notable books of this literature the ethical teaching is an immense advance on that of the Old Testament, and forms the indispensable link, which in this respect connects the Old Testament with the New.

We now come to Eschatology. Eschatology is strictly a doctrine of the last things, and as such can form a division of Apocalyptic or of Prophecy, and thus we can have an Eschatology of Apocalyptic and an Eschatology of Prophecy. But Apocalyptic takes an infinitely wider sweep than Prophecy, and embraces within its purview things past, present, and to come.

Having now described the nature and aims of Apocalyptic, it is not unnatural that it had great influence on the religion of subsequent ages, and that it bequeathed to Christianity certain truths and doctrines, which, though rather crudely conceived by Jewish thinkers, became in glorified forms imperishable elements of the Christian faith. Of these it will be sufficient to mention two: the doctrine of a blessed future life and the expectation of a new heaven and a new earth.

With this introduction I shall now address myself to a general treatment of our subject and begin with the Eschatology of pre-Prophetic times and pass on speedily to the Eschatology of the later centuries. But Eschatology, we speedily discover, cannot be studied in and by itself alone. It must be dealt with in connection with Theology, that is, the doctrine of God, or the particular forms that the conception of God assumed in the course of Israel's history.

By the conception of God every other religious conception of the nation was inevitably influenced and transformed, though the transformation may have taken generations or even centuries to effect. Now the conception of God was transformed essentially in certain respects in the course of Israel's history. In its earlier stages the religion of Israel was monolatrous: that is, Yahweh, and Yahweh alone, was the God of Israel, though Israel acknowledged that each tribe or nation had its own god or even many gods. This does not mean that all Israel was faithful to the worship of Yahweh, but that a minority in Israel always was faithful to this worship, till the lower monolatrous conception of God was transformed into the higher monotheistic conception.

Here we might pause for a moment to note the fact that Jehovah is a late and wrong pronunciation of the Divine name, and is not older than the eleventh or possibly the thirteenth century A.D. Hence, I shall use throughout these sermons the true and original pronunciation of this name. To return: during this early period the claim of Yahweh was exactly expressed in the First Commandment[1]: "Thou shalt have none other *gods* but Me." That independent

[1] I have sought to prove in my work, *The Decalogue*, now in its second edition, 1926, that the Ten Commandments in a terser form were the creation of Moses. Thus the date is somewhere about 1320–1300 B.C., when Yahweh was conceived as the God of the Hebrew community, and of it only.

national deities existed outside Israel, Israel freely acknowledged, though it was forbidden to worship them—such as Chemosh, the god of Moab, Milcom of Ammon, Ashtoreth of the Zidonians. According to the beliefs of this ancient period it was these *gods* that had given their respective peoples their territories, just as Yahweh had given Canaan to Israel. This appears in the message of Jephthah to the Ammonites, "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh [1] thy god giveth thee to possess?" (Judg. xi. 24). Each nation had its own god, whose jurisdiction was limited to his own country, just as Yahweh's dominion was originally conceived as limited to Israel and to one small province of the earth which we now call Palestine.

Not only was the power of the tribal or national deity conceived to be paramount within his own land, but all who were resident—even temporally—in his land were bound, if they consulted their own safety, to worship him. Thus David complains that he had been driven out from his own land and forced, therefore, to worship the gods (1 Sam. xxvi. 19) of other lands, because he was a sojourner for a time in them. Even Naaman, the Syrian, could not worship the God of Israel, unless he procured two mules' burden of earth from Palestine whereon to stand, when he was offering sacrifice to the God of Israel (2 Kings v. 17).

Hence, since Yahweh's dominion did not extend beyond the frontiers of Palestine, it could not at this period be conceived as extending to or embracing Sheol or the underworld. Yahweh had no sovereignty in Sheol.

Since Yahweh's jurisdiction was so circumscribed, He was concerned with the individual only so long as the in-

[1] Obviously a textual error for Milcom; for Chemosh was the national deity of Moab: cf. 1 Kings xi. 7, 33; 2 Kings xxiii. 13, and the Mesha Inscription.

dividual was living, and living within the confines of Palestine. When he died, "he was cut off from the hand," that is, the jurisdiction of Yahweh (Ps. lxxxviii. 5). At this period, therefore, the religion of Yahweh could furnish no doctrine of the future life to the individual, and so the individual was left to his own hereditary beliefs as regards the next life. Now these beliefs, relating to the soul or spirit and its future abode in Sheol, were heathen to the core.

There was no blessed outlook for the early Old Testament saint. Sheol was the eternal abode alike of the righteous and the wicked. It was the ultimate goal of all men. It was situated in the lower parts of the earth (Ps. lxiii. 9); it was the land of disorder and dust (Job vii. 21, x. 22), "a land of darkness, as darkness itself" . . . "where the light is as darkness" (Job x. 21–22). Here a shadowy life prevailed which faintly reflected the realities of the upper world. Social and not moral distinctions were observed, and so, when the individual descended into Sheol, he enjoyed amongst the shades a position corresponding to the social position he had held on earth.

At this period—down, in fact, to the eighth century B.C.—there was no conflict between the limited Theology and the Eschatology of Israel; *for their provinces were mutually exclusive.* But in Israel this exclusiveness and mutual independence could not be permanent. In the case of the gods of the neighbouring nations, there was no essential ground for any breach of this mutual independence ever arising; for in the case of the surrounding heathen religions, the sway of their deities was never conceived as extending to the next life: in short, they never rose, nor were they capable of rising, to the heights of a real and lasting monotheism.[1]

[1] It has been urged that the religious thinkers of Babylon rose to this conception and discovered behind all the multitude of gods one sole

How is it, then, that the tribal conception of Yahweh developed into a true monotheism? This question is too large to be discussed here, but there are three points wherein the primitive conception of Yahweh differs *essentially* from that of the neighbouring tribal gods. First of all, Yahweh was conceived as the God of justice and right. His sanctuary was the depository of law, and the prophets and priests were interpreters of His will. In the course of many centuries this teaching assumed a stereotyped form in the written Law or Pentateuch. Secondly, Yahweh was essentially the God of purity. Whilst practically every other tribal deity was notable for some form of licentiousness, none such was ever connected with Yahweh's worship. Thirdly, it was ethical considerations, embracing those just mentioned, and not speculative considerations as in Greece, that led first to the ethical and implicit monotheism of the eighth century B.C., and then to an almost explicit monotheism in the sixth century. This development carried with it an intense consciousness of the Personality of God, with whom His worshippers had come into moral and spiritual relations throughout the course of a long history—a history which was rich in the spiritual experiences of men who had lived in conscious communion with

deity or principle of life. Thus, in a late Babylonian tablet, "Ninib is the Marduk of battle, Sin is Marduk the light of night, Ramman is the Marduk of rain." But Monotheism is not a suitable term to apply to such speculation. Babylonian religion never rose to monotheism. In Egypt a real but passing approximation to monotheism must be recognized in the life, thought, and religion of Amenophis IV.; but his religion died with him, and the polytheistic cults, which he had suppressed, at once regained the unquestioned sway and prestige they had enjoyed of old. In Greece, Zenophanes has been represented as monotheistic. But his thought was mainly negative. He attacked the anthropomorphic polytheism of Homer and Hesiod and maintained the permanent unity of all things in opposition to their diversity and change. At the best his teaching is pantheistic rather than monotheistic.

Yahweh, even when Yahweh was conceived as a tribal God.

But what do we mean by *ethical* monotheism as distinct from a *definite* doctrine of monotheism? A study of the aims of Hebrew Prophecy will supply us with the information of which we are in quest. The Hebrew prophets of the eighth century dealt with such questions as the following: Is Yahweh's supreme interest tribal or ethical? If the national interests of Israel came into conflict with the interests of righteousness, would Yahweh sacrifice the claims of righteousness to the national claims of His people? Is Yahweh concerned supremely with the righteousness of men as men, and not with some particular nation or race? The unhesitating answer, that the prophets gave to such questions, set righteousness immeasurably above all national or racial considerations and made it clear that, though Israel was in a certain sense a chosen people, it was chosen to execute certain ends—and these ends were not their own but Yahweh's. From this standpoint the prophets readily passed to the further thought that other nations, and not Israel only, were under His Providential guidance. Thus the ethical character of Yahweh led in due course to the prophetic conception of Yahweh as the one God of all the earth, its Creator and the Creator of all men, as in the Second Isaiah in the sixth century B.C.

We have now considered at sufficient length the transformation of the primitive and monolatrous conception of Yahweh into the monotheistic conception, and are accordingly in a position to examine how far this growth in the true knowledge of God affected the Eschatology of Israel.

We have already seen that the purely heathen view of the future life did not appear inconsistent with the Hebrew conception of Yahweh in its earliest stage—that is, down to

the eighth century. And yet, though the doctrine of Yahweh and the Eschatology of the individual were independent of each other, they nevertheless stood in implicit antagonism —that is, when Yahwism ceased to be monolatrous and became definitely monotheistic in the sixth century. When once the great doctrine of Monotheism became the accepted belief of the leaders of Judaism, *all other beliefs, whether relating to the present life or the after world, were destined sooner or later to be brought into unison with it, but in the case of the Eschatological beliefs, later rather than sooner; for Eschatological beliefs are universally the last of all beliefs to be influenced by the loftier conceptions of God.*

This may seem strange to the thoughtful and logical mind; for, when it is once conceded that God is the Creator of all things and that He has created man in His own image, then it naturally follows that man's *future* life, no less than his present life, must be subject in every respect to Divine Providence.

And yet, though Israel possessed an ethical monotheism as early as the eighth century, it did not arrive for some centuries at this conclusion, which was really inevitable from the first. This is a startling fact, and it shows that man was destined by God to discover this doctrine of a blessed future life—not, as we have already observed, through logical processes of the intellect as in Greece, but through intense religious experiences, and thus to achieve a truth for all men, that all men could verify for themselves, if they were resolved to make such religious experiences their own. Hereby we are taught from the outset that *the only belief in a future life, that can really endure, is that which we make our own through a living and active faith,* and not through the mere intellectual acceptance of a creed, or the fulfilment of a certain ritual. Thus we find that, as it was

ethical and spiritual experiences, and not merely speculative considerations, that brought about the transformation of a monolatrous into a monotheistic belief, so it was ethical and spiritual experiences that led to the transformation of the heathen conception of a future existence entertained by the Jews into the belief in a blessed immortality.

But it took Israel over five hundred years to arrive at such a conviction. For the prophets and saints of Israel still clung fast to the heathen conception of the next life for several centuries, after they had reached the belief that Yahweh was the One and Only God—in other words, they clung fast to the combination of a false belief in a future existence, and the supreme truth of monotheism, and naturally with disastrous results; for from the welding together of a true theology—that is, Monotheism—and a false and heathen eschatology, there resulted inevitably the conclusion that *the righteousness of the righteous man and the wickedness of the wicked must be recompensed to the full in this life*, since it could not be recompensed in any other. No other conclusion was possible, so long as it was believed that in the future life no moral distinctions existed, and that accordingly in that life the mean, the cowardly, and the vicious would fare equally well with the high-hearted, the heroic, and the men after God's own heart.

Against this primitive postulate of faith no valid objection can be raised. And yet if the world is created and ruled by a righteous God, it must sooner or later be well with the righteous. But the primitive Hebrew belief in Sheol, which was essentially heathen, necessarily limited, as we have just seen, the sphere of retribution to this world, and thus led to the view that retribution was fully awarded to each individual according to his deserts in this world. This doctrine appears on a great scale in Deuteronomy and other pre-exilic and

later writings. The undoubted element of truth embodied in this doctrine won for it a general acceptance, and so long as it was regarded as a general statement and not applied individually, its inherent viciousness escaped criticism. But the hour for such criticism was fast approaching through the rise and growth of individualism in the religion of Israel.

Down, indeed, to the sixth century *no individual retribution* was looked for. The early Israelite was not alarmed by the prosperity of the wicked man or the calamities of the righteous; for Yahweh's concern was with the well-being of the nation as a whole and not with that of its individual members. The individual was identified with his family, or his tribe: a solidarity existed between him and his ancestors and descendants. Hence it was natural to conclude that God would visit the sins of the fathers on the children and likewise set down to the credit of the children the virtues and righteousness of their fathers. The family, the tribe, or nation was the religious unit with which Yahweh dealt down to the sixth century, and not the individual.

Thus no right view of the future life could be found by the most anxious seekers till there arose in the individual the consciousness of a new life and a new worth through a direct and immediate communion with God; and this consciousness came to be an essential element in the religion of Israel.

This—the greatest of all contributions made by Israel to religion—we owe to Jeremiah and his pupil Ezekiel.

The ancient exposition of the modern doctrine of heredity was popularly expressed in the proverb: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer. xxxi. 29). In this proverb the people explicitly denied their responsibility in the overthrow of the nation, and at the same time they arraigned the justice of God (Ezek.

xviii. 19). Their fathers had sinned and they could not escape the consequences of their guilt. Such a view naturally paralysed all personal effort after righteousness.

Now in opposition to this popular view which destroyed all moral effort in the nation, Jeremiah proclaimed the new covenant which was to be written on the heart of the individual—the new doctrine of the individual—the new relation which God was to establish between Himself and the individual (Jer. xxxi. 31–34).

This new relation was to supersede the old relation which had existed between God and the *nation* as a whole. Heretofore the *individual* had no intrinsic worth of his own, and, as such, had not the right of immediate access to God, but only through a priest or prophet: he was related to Yahweh only as a member of the nation, and as such, whatever his character might be, was obliged to share in the national judgments. God dealt with the nation as the religious unit. But from the sixth century B.C., Jeremiah taught that the individual was to constitute the religious unit, and the individual was to have the right of immediate access to God and to enter into the privileges of the prophet. Jeremiah was the first to conceive religion as being essentially the communion of the individual soul with God.

The teaching of Jeremiah was taken up and developed by his pupil Ezekiel. In pre-exilic times the individual soul had been conceived as the property of the family and the nation. In its explicit contradiction of this view, Ezekiel's individualism receives its most noble and profound expression, when the prophet, speaking in God's name, declares: "All souls are mine." Never hitherto had the worth of the individual soul been asserted in such brief and pregnant words. From this fact Ezekiel concluded that, if the individual proved faithful in his relation to Yahweh, he would

be delivered from the thraldom of sin, whether his own or his forefathers', and would be wholly unaffected by his own past or that of his nation.

The law of heredity, Ezekiel held, was thus annulled, and every man was recompensed in strict accordance with his deserts. So exact was the law of requital that a man's outward lot was an unfailing index to his character and his actual worth before God. Hence prosperity was God's own testimony to human integrity, and adversity no less surely a Divine attestation of human demerit. From such premises no other conclusion was logically possible.

In this doctrine of unlimited individualism Ezekiel had enunciated a great spiritual truth, but had associated with it a statement that was demonstrably false. The individual, it is true, could in communion with God break with the iron nexus of his own past and that of his own people, and make a new beginning, different in essence from that past and inexplicable from it as a starting-point; but this new beginning was always conditioned in some degree by that past, and herein lies the truth of heredity which Ezekiel denied.

Ezekiel's teaching rooted itself firmly in the national consciousness, and was variously applied in the two great handbooks of Judaism—the Psalter and the Book of Proverbs. But this doctrine proved to be a continual stumbling-block to the righteous when in trouble. So long as all went well with the good man, he was assured of God's favour, but misfortune or pain destroyed this certainty; for as such he was constrained to regard them as evidence of sin. A man's personal friends might in their charity construe his affliction as a Divine discipline, but the popular verdict uncompromisingly denounced it as the punishment of guilt.

This orthodox doctrine of Judaism, furthermore, blocked the way of all progress to a higher solution of the problem

of a future life. So long as the nation was convinced that there was a perfectly adequate retribution in this life, there was no ground for questioning the truth of the current view that the condition of the departed in Sheol was alike hopeless and inevitable. But towards the close of the fifth century dissatisfaction with the orthodox doctrine of retribution grew profound, and at length found immortal expression in the Book of Job, and two centuries later in Ecclesiastes.

With the new movements which found expression in these books we shall deal in the two following sermons.

II

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN, ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING OF JUDAISM

"If a man die, shall he live again?"—Job xiv. 14.

IN last Sunday's sermon I traced the development of Jewish thought, in regard to the future life, down to the close of the fifth century. In the fifth century the teaching of Ezekiel on retribution, based on that of the greater prophet Jeremiah, had already become an all but unquestioned dogma, and this dogma was, that the exact measure of a man's deserts was meted out to him in this life, and that accordingly all fared alike, whether good or bad, in the next life—a dogma which is constantly enforced in the Psalter and the Book of Proverbs. In these writings there were introduced modifications of the orthodox and then dominant dogma. Trouble and affliction were not always regarded as retribution, but sometimes were sent as a discipline to the righteous. But such adversity was always followed by a renewal of outward material blessings, and the end of the righteous was always prosperity and peace, as the end of the wicked was always disaster and disquiet. But in all cases men were requited to the full in this life, and when they died, and went down to Sheol, they passed absolutely from under the sway of Yahweh, as we have already learnt.

But towards the close of the fifth century this doctrine

of retribution was challenged and flatly denied in two great works—the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes. Though Ecclesiastes was written more than two hundred years later than the Book of Job, we shall notice its protest first, since its aims were critically destructive, and not, as in the case of Job in its original form, critically destructive with a view to the construction of a truer conception of the next life. We may dismiss Ecclesiastes in a few phrases, since its author—whom we might term the Omar Khayyám of Judaism—maintains that the life of the individual is simply a vanity of vanities; that there is no retribution either here or hereafter; that there is no difference between the destiny of the righteous and the wicked, and none apparently between that of the man and the brute.[1]

The Book of Job was written most probably in the latter half of the fifth century. Its concern from first to last is the current doctrine of retribution, and its aim is to show that the doctrine of a man's individual worth and a strictly individual retribution are really irreconcilable. Like his contemporaries, Job had accepted the traditional teaching that every event that befalls man reflects God's disposition towards him: in fact, that a strictly retributive and adequate judgment is enforced in this life. But this doctrine, he found, was not supported by the experiences of other men (xxi. 1–15), while his own gave the lie to it unconditionally.

Human faith, to be assured of its own reality, claims an outward attestation at the hands of God (xvii. 3–4); but, since all such outward attestation was withheld, Job concluded that the righteousness of God could not be discovered in the outer world. Already in the seventh chapter

[1] The occasional references to judgment in Ecclesiastes are Pharisaic interpolations of a later date.

Job had definitely refused to consider the idea of a future life:

> "For now shall I lie down in the dust;
> And thou shalt seek me diligently, but I shall not be."
> (vii. 21.)

In the fourteenth chapter (xiv. 13–15) Job reconsiders the possibility of a future life, but does so only to reject it. But in the nineteenth chapter he adopts a new attitude, and appeals from the God of outer Providence, the God of circumstance, the God of this world, to the God of faith.

> "I know that my Avenger liveth,
> And that hereafter He will appear above (my) grave:
> And . . . that out of my flesh I shall see God:
> Whom I shall see for myself,
> And my eyes shall behold, and not another."
> (xix. 25–27.)

In this momentous passage Job declares that God will appear for his vindication against the false charges of his friends and the false teaching of the orthodox law of retribution. He declares further that he shall himself witness this vindication, and enjoy, though but for the moment, the vision of God. But there is no ground of any kind for inferring that this Divine experience would endure beyond the moment of Job's vindication. There is not a hint of a blessed immortality in the book as it at present exists. The possibility of the continuance, much less of the everlastingness, of this higher life does not seem to have dawned on Job, though it lay in the line of his reasonings. If it had, it could not have been absolutely ignored throughout the rest of the book, and the book could not have closed in a practical confirmation of the orthodox view, which was the assured prosperity of the righteous and the adversity of the wicked—a view which he had hitherto contested through-

out his entire work. Nevertheless, the importance of the spiritual advance here made cannot be exaggerated; for Job had so emphasized the difficulties that beset the theology of his time that thoughtful and religious men in Palestine were forced to consider them afresh, and so in due time rise to a new and higher theology.

In this reconsideration of the problem some broke with the orthodoxy of the day and, making the great venture of faith, reached forward to the doctrine of a future life. Others, like the author of Ecclesiastes declining the challenge of the Spirit, made " the great refusal " and fell back on materialism and unbelief.

From Job we should naturally pass to the consideration of certain of the Psalms, such as the xvi., xvii., xlix., and lxxiii., in the second and fourth of which a clear conviction of immortality is expressed. In the lxxiii. the writer declares that the highest blessedness of the righteous is unbroken communion with God. In comparison with God, all the universe is nothing; this life ended, God is the portion of the righteous for evermore (lxxiii. 23–26).

But before we proceed further there are two points that call for emphasis. The first is, that the writer of Job held that the soul is not shorn of all its higher powers by death, as had been taught in the past, but was re-endowed in some measure and for a limited time with the power of communion with God, when parted from the material body. The next fact is, that the new doctrine of a future life owes nothing to the animistic conceptions of the soul current in ancient Hebrew and in Greek and Roman thought, but sprang from a consciousness of a present and actual communion with God. The thinker that was capable of such Divine communion and of pursuing the lines of thought initiated by Job and these psalmists could not, when his religious insight was at its highest,

believe in the death of the soul, and was on the highway to the discovery of a blessed immortality.

We have now done with the question of individual immortality, but have only as yet caught a glimpse of the greater doctrine of the resurrection. But there was no other course possible. The doctrine of man's resurrection results from the synthesis of two distinct hopes—the hope of the individual for his own immortality, and the hope of the nation for the advent of the Kingdom of God. The hope of the individual looked forward to a merely personal immortality not necessarily connected with his brethren. With the rise and development of this hope we have already dealt. The second hope, which is the hope of the nation, developed ultimately into the expectation of a Messianic Kingdom. For several centuries these two hopes pursued, side by side, their respective lines of development, and it was not apparently till the third century at earliest that these two hopes were seen to be complementary sides of one and the same religious truth, a truth that subsumes and does justice to the essential claims of both. Thus when the doctrine of the blessed immortality of the faithful soul was combined with the hope of the Messianic Kingdom, *the separate hopes of the individual and of the nation coalesced in a new doctrine, namely, the resurrection of the righteous dead.* Not only would the righteous, who *survived* the advent of the Kingdom, participate in the Kingdom, but all the righteous dead would rise to share therein, and thus the righteous individual and the righteous nation would be blessed together. In a late passage in Isaiah—possibly as late as the second century B.C.—we read :

> " Thy dead shall live,
> Their [1] bodies shall arise ;

[1] See Gray's *Commentary, in loc.* The Massoretic Text is very corrupt, but the Versions provide the means for its emendation. For " my bodies "

> They, that dwell in the dust,
> Shall awake and shout for joy."
> (Isa. xxvi. 19.)

Here the writer lays the emphasis on the resurrection of the *actual* body that had died and been buried, and connects the thought of the resurrection essentially with this body. And this is just what we should expect. The new Kingdom was originally conceived to be on the present material earth, and the *risen* righteous were to be reclothed with their original material bodies, renewed and glorified, it is true, on this material earth, and form with the *surviving* righteous one blessed commonwealth of God.

Such is the forecast of this Old Testament writer. Before I present other parallel accounts, it will be well to define more definitely what the resurrection in its essence means. Since it is a synthesis of the hope of the individual and the hope of the nation, the resurrection marks the entrance of the individual *after death* into the Divine life of the community when this Divine community was established on the earth. The faithful in Palestine looked forward not to a solitary, however blessed immortality, but to a blessed future, as members of this regenerated community, as citizens of the righteous kingdom that should embrace their brethren. The individual could only attain to his highest in the life of the community, alike here and hereafter.

The resurrection implies, therefore, a double restoration, and may be defined as *a restoration to communion with God and to a restoration with the community of the faithful at some undefined date after death.* The resurrection so conceived could only be the prerogative of the righteous. So it was

—impossible in an address to Yahweh—the Syriac rightly has "their bodies." Instead of the imperatives "awake and shout for joy" (so Mass.) we should read, "shall awake and shout for joy" with LXX, as Gray does.

conceived by the author of the words which I have just quoted from the late passage of Isaiah. In this respect the writer has preserved the original form of the doctrine. But the doctrine underwent many changes. At the outset it was *the prerogative of the departed righteous*—an essential and permanent characteristic of this doctrine, though not unfrequently lost sight of by subsequent Jewish and Christian writers. At the outset also it was of necessity conceived materialistically, seeing that the present earth was to be the scene of the eternal Kingdom, and that the actual physical bodies they had forsaken at death were to be restored to the faithful departed in this Kingdom. *This materialistic element was of course not only non-essential but untrue, as we shall see later. It was due to the material character of the Messianic Kingdom as originally conceived, to which the faithful departed were to be raised*, a doctrine that most Jews and many Christians still cling fast to at the present day, though some Jewish writers abandoned the idea of an eternal Messianic Kingdom on this earth about 100 B.C. On the other hand, the restoration to communion with God and the restoration to communion with the faithful departed after death constitute the essential and permanent elements in the true doctrine of the resurrection.

That there should be any delay in this restoration to *communion with God* after death, as in Isa. xxvi. 19, is due to the imperfect conceptions of the time, and to the survival in Judaism of heathen views of the future. Owing to these heathen views it was believed that the righteous must abide in Sheol apart from God, till the Messianic Kingdom was established. In later times, however, when this heathen idea of Sheol was displaced by the doctrine of Paradise or heaven, as the abode of the faithful immediately after death, *death made no breach in the communion of the faithful with*

God. Hence this first constituent in the resurrection doctrine —that is, restoration to communion with God—is not *really* subject to time conditions. There is no gap in the life of communion with God. But the second constituent—restoration to communion with the righteous departed—appears to be so conditioned, and to be incapable of complete realization, till the Kingdom of God or the Messianic Kingdom reaches its culmination either here or hereafter. In other words, *the blessedness of the individual is conditioned by that of the community as a whole,* and grows steadily in the measure of the growing blessedness of the community. Only one step further at present. If, in the definition we have already given of the resurrection, we omit the words " after death," we have in what remains a description of the spiritual change which the faithful experience already in the present life, and which really forms in itself the essence of the resurrection. Such a spiritual change constitutes, in Pauline language, a spiritual resurrection. Thus in Colossians he writes to the faithful *that are still living*: " If ye "—that is, his readers —" be risen with Christ." A true spiritual resurrection is therefore within the reach of all men even on this side of the grave. But to this fact we shall return in a later sermon.

From this discussion of the real spiritual essence of this doctrine let us return to the earlier forms it assumed in Judaism. In the Old Testament there are only two other passages which deal with it in addition to that in Isaiah. In Psalm lxxxviii. it is mentioned, but mentioned only to be rejected. In Daniel xii. the spiritual significance of the conception is lost; for there the resurrection, which was conceived originally as the prerogative of the faithful, is limited on the one side to the martyrs and confessors, and extended on the other to the apostates of Israel. In this

author, the resurrection is conceived mechanically as a device, by means of which the pre-eminently good and bad in Israel are to be presented before God in their bodies, and judged according to their works. Here, again, the heathen conception of Sheol appears to have influenced the author of Daniel, who still regards Sheol as "the land of dust" (xii. 2), and probably a place where moral distinctions were not observed. Hence the writer of Daniel did not regard Sheol as the permanent abode of the martyrs on the one hand or the apostates on the other. Both must receive in a transcendent degree a recompense in accordance with the deeds done in the body.

From the Old Testament we pass to the non-canonical writings written between 180 B.C. and A.D. 100. In such works as the Book of Enoch, Jubilees, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and others, the doctrine of the resurrection develops in many ways. We cannot here trace even the chief phases of this development. There is one, however, which cannot be ignored, and this is the transformation of the Messianic hope about 100 B.C. Before that date the eternal Messianic Kingdom was conceived as established on the present material earth. But henceforth amongst the most spiritual writers in Judaism the earth came to be regarded as wholly unfit to be the seat of the eternal Kingdom of God. It was, indeed, taught that the Messianic Kingdom was to be on the present earth, but that this Kingdom was not be of an eternal but only of a limited duration, and on various grounds it was inferred that it would last from four hundred to a thousand years. In connection with this last number arose the doctrine of the Millennium. But other Jewish writers refused to believe that there would be any such temporary Kingdom, and taught that there would be only an

eternal Kingdom which would displace the present heaven and the present earth.

Thus the hope of an eternal Messianic Kingdom on the *present* earth, which had been taught by the Old Testament prophets and cherished by every faithful Israelite, was necessarily abandoned, and subsequent thinkers were forced to adopt other and different conceptions of this Kingdom. But this Kingdom was not only differently conceived but also differently related to the other great hopes of Judaism. Thus, whereas in the Old Testament and other Jewish literature before 100 B.C., the righteous were to be raised to live eternally in their physical bodies on the present earth, henceforth in the higher circles of Jewish thought, the risen righteous were to have no further connection with their physical bodies, but, clothed as the angels in garments of light and glory, to enter into the Millennial Kingdom, or if there was no such Kingdom, to pass forthwith into heaven itself.

To the eternal Kingdom, when spiritually conceived, there *could* be no physical resurrection. To these spiritual abodes there could only be a resurrection of the spirit endued with powers that no material body could possess, or else the righteous departed were to be as the angels, clothed with garments of light and glory. In the next place, the conception of Sheol was transformed. Down to the second century B.C., or possibly later, it was a place of social and not a place of moral distinctions. From that date onwards Sheol begins to change its character and become a place of moral distinctions, and likewise, as in the New Testament, a place of torment.

III

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN, ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY OUTSIDE THE NEW TESTAMENT

AT the close of the last sermon I followed the higher lines of development in Jewish thought according to the teaching of Judaism from 170 B.C.; but the older conceptions still held their ground not only amongst the masses of the Jewish people, but even amongst most of its Rabbis and Doctors of the Law. I shall now record briefly a few of these expectations of the future that prevailed in Judaism. According to 1 Enoch vi.–xxxvi. (before 170 B.C.), the righteous were to rise with their bodies, eat of the tree of life, enjoy patriarchal lives (xxv. 4–6), and beget thousands of children (x. 17). The outlook is sensuous, but it has an ethical side; for truth and peace were to prevail throughout all the days of the world (xi. 1–2). As for the wicked who had been punished for their wrongdoing in this life, they were not to be raised, but were to remain in Sheol for ever, whereas the wicked who had escaped judgment were to be raised as disembodied spirits and be punished eternally in Gehenna (xxvii. 2).

In the section just dealt with the righteous were to rise and enjoy lives of patriarchal duration and then die, and a certain class of the wicked were also to be raised with a view

to their punishment. But in another section of 1 Enoch (lxxxiii.–xc.), written some years later, only the righteous were to rise, and that in a glorified form to an everlasting life. In a still later section of 1 Enoch (xxxvii.–lxx.), the righteous were to rise clothed in garments of light and glory, but the wicked also were to be raised to meet the retribution that was their due.

In 2 Maccabees, the date of which is doubtful (*circ.* 150–50 B.C.), a resurrection of the flesh is definitely taught.

But towards the end of the second century B.C. and during the first century B.C., some Jewish writers taught that there would be no resurrection of the body, but that the righteous would enjoy a blessed immortality of the spirit.[1] This was the teaching of Alexandrian Judaism in the first century of the Christian era,[2] but, whereas some of the above writings taught a resurrection of the spirit immediately after death, some postponed this resurrection of the spirit till after the final judgment.

We have now traced, very briefly indeed, the steps taken by the religious thinkers in Judaism as they rose to faith in a blessed future life. This belief was still in an initial and immature stage. There was little or no agreement in the details of this expectation, and while some writers, influenced by Alexandrian Judaism, looked forward to a resurrection of the spirit only, others taught a resurrection of the spirit clothed with a garment of light, or even with a physical body.

By the teachers of orthodox Judaism a very materialistic doctrine of the resurrection was currently accepted and enforced.

Thus in a treatise of the Talmud [3] it is seriously recounted

[1] Jubilees xxiii. 31; 1 Enoch xci.–civ.; Psalms of Solomon i.–xvi.; Assumption of Moses.

[2] Wisdom, Philo, 4 Maccabees.

[3] *Berakoth*, 18 *b*.

how a good man spent two nights at the close of two successive years in a burial-ground, and heard two spirits converse with each other in their graves. Several similar conversations are recorded in this same treatise. In another treatise[1] the conversation of two Rabbis is recorded, one of whom was living, and the other dead and in his grave. The latter—the dead Rabbi, Achai son of Josiah—informs the living Rabbi Nachman that bodies would continue to exist in their graves till one hour before the resurrection. But other Jewish teachers held that only (*Ber. rab.* c. 28) a single joint of the vertebræ[2] would survive, this joint being absolutely indestructible, and that from this joint God would recreate the entire man. In the second suffrage of the chief prayer of Judaism (the Shemoneh Ezre) the departed are spoken of as sleeping in the dust, and in the Morning Benediction appear the following words: "O God, the soul which Thou hast given me is pure: . . . Thou hast breathed it into me and Thou dost preserve it in me: Thou wilt take it from me and restore it to me in the future. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who givest back souls to dead bodies."[3]

The grossness of this materialistic conception is accompanied by beliefs of a kindred nature—such as that the dead would be raised with all their physical defects, as blindness, lameness, and the like, which defects were in the case of the righteous to be healed forthwith. Furthermore the dead were, according to some teachers, to be raised in the actual clothes in which they had been buried.[4] Hence the Rabbis gave particular directions as to the clothes in which their bodies were to be buried. The resurrection

[1] *Shabb*, 152 *b*.

[2] *i.e.* לוז של שדרה. So answered R. Joshua to the Emperor Hadrian.

[3] *Berakoth*, 60 *b*, where the dead bodies are פגרים מתים.

[4] *Kethub.* 111 *b*.

was to take place in Palestine. In order to share in the resurrection, a Jew had to be buried in Palestine,[1] which was called "the land of the living." But if a man was not buried there, the feet of the corpse were to be turned towards that land. Some even went so far as to say that God forgave all those who were buried in the Holy Land.[2] But, failing burial in this land, the faithful had to roll underground till they reached Palestine in order to rise there,[3] and it was said that Jacob required from his children that he should be buried there, in order to escape the painfulness of this underground approach to Palestine.

From the above summary of Jewish teaching in the Talmud and later works it is clear that the bulk of the Jews entertained grossly materialistic conceptions of the resurrection. It was, in fact, a resuscitation of the flesh and not in any sense a resurrection of persons as taught in the New Testament. This materialistic teaching appears to have prevailed universally in Judaism down to the twelfth century, when it was rejected by at least one great Jewish scholar —Maimonides. Nevertheless, it has been current doctrine in Judaism down to modern times.

Modern Reformed Judaism indeed maintains that the resurrection of the body has no foundation in Judaism, and that it should be replaced in their liturgy by the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Modern Jewish Prayer Books imply a resurrection of souls, but, so far as I have discovered, not of dead bodies. The tendency of Modern Judaism is to revert to the belief in an immortality of the soul as taught by Alexandrian Judaism. In certain respects this Alexandrian doctrine appears to be psychologically defective.

[1] Jer. Talm., *Kilajim* ix. 4 (32 *c*).
[2] Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2], p. 334.
[3] *Kethub.* 111 *a*.

Before we go on to the Christian conception of the resurrection, let us bear in mind what we have observed, and this is that at all periods of Judaism there existed side by side incongruous and inconsistent elements. There was always constant movement, and the movement was generally of a materialistic character. Only occasionally the lowest survivals of the past were dropped and higher conceptions adopted in their place. *But the eschatology of Judaism was always on a lower plane than its conception of God and generally centuries behind it.*

When we pass from Jewish literature to that of the New Testament, we find ourselves in an absolutely new atmosphere. It is not, indeed, that we have to do with a wholly new world of ideas and moral forces ; for all that was great and inspiring in the past had come over into the present and claimed its part in the formation of the Christian Church. But in the process of incorporation this heritage from the past had been, of necessity, largely transformed, and forces and ideas, hitherto in constant flux, had gradually assumed their right relation relatively to each other and to the purpose of religion as a whole. It is not, indeed, true that all such ideas underwent complete or even partial transformation ; for we cannot ignore the presence of essentially Jewish elements in the New Testament, especially in certain sections of the Gospels, in First Thessalonians, the earliest Epistle of St. Paul, and in Revelation. But, in our Lord's teaching and in the later Epistles of St. Paul, these Judaistic elements are entirely wanting, as we shall see later. The theology of the New Testament, with its central doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, demands the transformation of such conceptions as the following: first, of Sheol or Hades, which was generally regarded as a place of moral distinctions but yet a place insusceptible of moral progress or moral retrogression;

secondly, of the doctrine of the resuscitation of the flesh; and thirdly, of the doctrine of the everlasting punishment of the wicked. So far as any Christian Church holds fast to these Judaistic survivals, its conceptions of the next world are nearly two thousand years behind the New Testament doctrine of God and Christ.

These are not speculative but intensely practical questions, seeing that they spring essentially from our conception of God Himself.

Before we deal with our Lord's teaching on the resurrection and that of St. Paul, let us turn to the doctrine as it has been popularly taught by the Christian churches from the third century of the Christian era down to the present day.

The spiritual conception of the resurrection, it is true, held its ground for two or more generations, but the Gnostic heresies, which falsely taught that the flesh was the real cause and sphere of sin in man, forced the Early Church theologians to adopt indefensible views with regard to the flesh, and to teach that the flesh was to be raised at the resurrection. And so the word "resurrection," which should have been used only in connection with persons, came to be used of the flesh or of dead bodies. Accordingly, the early Fathers of the Church taught a resuscitation of the actual body of the flesh, which the soul had forsaken at death. The word "resurrection" was thus quite wrongly used in this connection, if we follow the guidance of the New Testament. This materialistic and false doctrine is found in all the original forms of the Apostles' Creed, which from the third down to the sixteenth century read, "I believe in the resurrection of the flesh" [1]—a statement in direct conflict with the plain words of the New Testament: "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God." In the sixteenth

[1] *Carnis resurrectionem*—σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.

century the clause, "the resurrection of the flesh," was changed in the English Prayer Book, except in the Baptismal service, into "the resurrection of the body," a form which is almost as unscriptural as the form it supersedes. The true expression of the Church's faith on this question is given first of all in several passages in the New Testament,[1] and in the Nicene Creed, as it was set forth in the Council at Constantinople and later incorporated in our Communion service, and this is, "the resurrection of the dead." The resurrection is a resurrection of persons—not a resurrection of dead things. This true form of expression is still preserved in Ignatius (*Ad Trall.* 9),[2] although (*Ad Smyrn.* 3) inconsistently he held that Christ was "in the flesh" after the resurrection.[3] But in Irenæus (*Hær.* v. 3. 2) the bringing together again[4] of the particles of the decomposed flesh is definitely taught, and Tertullian speaks of "the resurrection of the flesh" in one of his treatises (*De Virg. Veland.* 1), and in another of its *restoration*[5] (*De Præscript. Hær.* 13). But he goes still further, and in a treatise devoted wholly to this subject[6] he interprets our Lord's words, "the very hairs of your head are all numbered" (Matt. x. 30), in reference to the resurrection of the flesh, and maintains that they are so numbered that not even a single hair shall be lost nor yet a tooth, since the wicked must gnash their teeth in hell (Matt. viii. 12). Jerome, in his Commentary on

[1] ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν—"resurrection of the dead," Acts xvii. 32, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 12 *sqq.*; Heb. vi. 2. ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν, Luke xx. 35; Acts iv. 2. ἡ ἐξανάστασις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν, Phil. iii. 11. These three expressions, though differing essentially in one respect, agree in that they speak of the resurrection of persons—not of dead bodies.

[2] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . ὃς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν.

[3] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα.

[4] ἀποκαταστῆσαι—so rendered in the Latin Version by "redintegrare"—a change of meaning.

[5] *Cum carnis restitutione.*

[6] *De resurrectione carnis*, 35.

Matthew viii. 12, enforces the same conclusion. I shall only quote one more of the early Fathers on this question, and this is St. Chrysostom. In his Epistle I. to the Corinthians [1] he writes: "Though the soul be ten thousand times immortal . . . yet apart from the flesh it will not receive those ineffable good things. If the body does not rise, the soul remains uncrowned." Chrysostom here manifestly takes the body to be the actual body which was buried or destroyed.

Thenceforward to the Reformation the resuscitation of the flesh is taught. This pagan and Judaistic doctrine is still accepted by a vast body of Christian people, and even by people of culture that are in other respects sane and judicious.

But, however extravagant and foolish the views of the Early, Mediæval, and Later Churches, they are not to be compared with the ineptitude of our modern hymns on the resurrection. Let us take three familiar examples. In the well-known hymn, "The sower went forth sowing," we have the following unintelligible lines:

> "Within a hallowed acre
> He sows yet other grain,
> When peaceful earth receiveth
> The dead He died to gain."

Here it is taught that Christ buries His faithful ones in the churchyard or cemetery, and thus the hymn-writer identifies the faithful departed with their dead bodies. But we have hardly concluded singing this nonsense, when the hymn proceeds:

> "For though the growth" (mark well the word "growth") "be hidden,
> We know that they shall rise."

Somehow the dead bodies are growing in their graves. At all events they are to rise from these graves. But we have

[1] *Epist. I. ad Corinth*, Hom. xxxix. 3 (vol. x. 365 *sqq.*, Paris, 1732)

hardly recognized the utter materialism of this view, when the writer passes with a bound from the materialistic province to the spiritual and proceeds :

> " Yea, even now they ripen
> In sunny Paradise."

It would be difficult to find such confusion of thought save in other hymns on the resurrection. The hymn we have just quoted comes from the hand of a Scottish divine. Let us now turn to one which owes its origin to a recent Archbishop of York :

> " The saints of God their vigil keep,
> While yet their mortal bodies sleep,
> Till from the dust they too shall rise
> And soar triumphant to the skies."

Here the saints, presumably their spirits, are keeping vigil. Where they are keeping such a vigil, we are told in the next two lines, which at once compel our attention. These lines are :

> " While yet their mortal bodies sleep
> Till from the dust they too shall rise."

Here, to our amazement, we learn that the mortal bodies are " sleeping." Such an expression is wholly against the essential teaching of the New Testament. Now the verb " sleep " [1] is never used in the New Testament of the dead body, but it is used euphemistically of the life of departed personalities in the next world, and, as such, it is used of spirits enjoying some degree of consciousness. This is an unquestionable fact. If now we pass on to the third line, " Till from the dust *they too* shall rise," we learn that these bodies are supposed to be in the dust, and, since it is stated

[1] κοιμᾶσθαι, John xi. 11 ; 1 Cor. vii. 39, xv. 18, 20, etc. ; also καθεύδειν, 1 Thess. v. 10. Yet in the Old Testament καθεύδειν means " to die " in Isa. xliii. 17. In Isa. xiv. 8-9, where κοιμᾶσθαι is used of the passing from this life to that of the shades, even the kings in their shadowy life are represented as rising up from their thrones.

that " they too " shall rise from the dust, it follows that the spirits of the saints rise from the same place—that is, from their graves.

Once more let us consider one of the most popular hymns of this type, written also by an English divine. According to this hymn, the soul and the material body are to meet again on the resurrection morning. Of their activities or existence in the meantime we have the following remarkable disclosures :

" Here awhile they must be parted
And the flesh its Sabbath keep,
Waiting in a holy stillness,
Wrapped in sleep.

For a while the tired body
Lies with feet towards the morn ;
Till the last and brightest Easter
Day is born.

Soul and body reunited
Henceforth nothing shall divide."

We have quoted sufficiently. In this and the preceding hymn the imbecility of this school of hymn-writers reaches its climax. But this writer, outdistancing his predecessors, furnishes the details of his hopelessly irrational outlook. The tired body, he tells us, " keeps Sabbath " with its feet pointing to the East. It preserves some sort of consciousness ; for it " sleeps." But since " sleeps " means the life of the departed in the next world, what sort of sleep can the body enjoy that has been rotting for thousands or millions of years and been resolved into its chemical equivalents, or been cremated and dispersed to the four winds ? The entire hymn is nonsense from start to finish.

Once more let me recall in a few words how this confusion of thought arose.

In ancient Judaism the doctrine of the resurrection, or

rather resuscitation of dead bodies, followed logically and inevitably on the doctrine of an eternal and Messianic Kingdom on *the present material earth*. No other expectation was possible from this conception of the Jewish seer or thinker. If you live in a material world, you must have a material body. But when the materialistic conceptions of ancient Judaism as to the future of the individual and of the Kingdom of God gave place to the spiritual conceptions of our Lord and St. Paul, such conceptions as are expressed in the above hymns became impossible, though they have illegitimately maintained their ground in Church treatises and hymn-books from the close of the second century to the present.

Surely it is time to banish from our thought and worship these puerilities and absurdities, seeing that even the Reformed school of Judaism has already removed them from its prayer books and relegated them to the limbo of outworn illusions.

There are other survivals of Judaism in Christianity. One is the doctrine of Sheol or Hades, in which souls are conceived to be incapable of ethical and spiritual progress; but there is yet another and more terrible doctrine, the doctrine of eternal damnation, which cannot be accepted by those who believe, as the New Testament teaches, that God is love. The New Testament doctrine of the Fatherhood of God demands a transformation of Jewish doctrine, and our acceptance either of Conditional Immortality or of Universalism. Having now dealt with the doctrine of man's resuscitation in Judaism and in Christian treatises and hymns outside the New Testament as far as our time admits, we shall consider in the next two sermons the real teaching of the New Testament on the question of that resurrection, and thus be able to compare it with the conventional and irrational views that are taught all but universally on this subject by modern Churches.

IV

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN, ACCORDING TO ST. PAUL

THIS afternoon, before I begin this sermon, I wish to make it clear that, when the word "personality"[1] is used in these sermons, it is used in the Biblical sense:

[1] Pringle-Pattison (*Idea of Immortality*, p. 196) attaches a somewhat different meaning to personality: "Personality, or selfhood, is not anything that can be conferred by another; it is emphatically something that must be won before there can be any talk of its conservation. *What is given is simply the opportunity.* A true self comes into being as the result of continuous effort, and the same effort is needed to hold it together and ensure its maintenance; for the danger of disintegration is always present." On the whole, I agree with this statement. But more is needed than is expressed in the words I have underlined. The action of the Divine Spirit is always indispensable from first to last. The continuous effort of the individual self is likewise indispensable, but the part it plays is wholly secondary to that of the Divine Spirit. Brown (*Science and Personality*, p. 238) writes to the following effect, and to some extent in harmony with the above: "We can regard personality as a process but not as a product; for it is never completely produced. It is a process that is creative on the one side and intuitional on the other. As personality grows, it produces something new, something that was not there before, and also brings with it increased insight into the nature of things, into the values of the world." On the distinction between Personality and Individuality, see D'Arcy, *Science and Creation*, p. 109. Pringle-Pattison draws out in the following words the distinction lying between the Hellenic and the Christian view of Personality: "The essential feature of the Christian conception of the world, in contrast to the Hellenic, may be said to be that it regards persons and the relations of persons to one another as the essence of reality, whereas Greek thought conceived of personality, however spiritual, as a restrictive characteristic of the finite —a transitory product of a life which as a whole is impersonal."

that is, that man is conceived as a spirit or soul, combined with a body. I must confess that I can find neither in philosophy nor in science any actual definition of the word. Neither do I attempt to give any definition beyond what is implied in the New Testament. The body, according to the Bible, is conceived as the organ or instrument by means of which the spirit or soul expresses itself or receives impressions from without. We have necessarily a material body in this material world. But we have no concern with the philosophic conceptions of personality which identify the spirit and personality, or with those which regard the spirit as constituting the entire personality and as losing self-consciousness and being absorbed in the Infinite, as in Buddhism and kindred religions. In contrast with these there are individualistic conceptions which would be reconcilable with a purely selfish existence, and not *necessarily* progressive in goodness of any kind.

But the New Testament doctrine of the resurrection implies, as the Old Testament, two things—the spirit and the body, which is essentially a means of expressing the spirit, or itself receiving impressions for the spirit. Nay, more, all self-conscious life of which we have any positive knowledge, is always in connection with embodied minds or souls. But that is not all. The resurrection cannot be realized save in a Divine community, in which alike the individual and the race are ever growing in truth, purity, and goodness. In this Divine community the position of each individual is determined by his spiritual endowments, and his growth and blessedness conditioned by the growth and blessedness of the whole community.

The relation of the spirit to the present corruptible body and its relation to the resurrection body is set forth by St. Paul in the following words, familiar to all of us, but so

generally misunderstood: "So also in the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body (or, as it should be rendered, 'a psychical,' or 'soulish' body); it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. xv. 42–44). The sowing here has nothing to do with the dead body: nothing to do with the body that is buried in the earth. Such a meaning of the Greek word σπείρειν, which St. Paul here uses and which means "to sow," is never found in Greek in the sense of "to bury" a dead body or any dead thing. The sowing referred to in St. Paul's words means, not the burying of the dead body in the grave, but the sowing of the spirit of man in its material environment here on earth —that is, in its corruptible body—where, even as a grain of wheat that is sown gathers for itself a body from the matter around it, so the spirit of man fashions for itself a material or psychical body out of its material environment. No more is the Hebrew word "to sow" found in such a sense. Alike in Hebrew as in Greek, it is a living thing that is sown and not a dead thing. And just as sowing is used only for sowing a living thing, so the term "seed" is used metaphorically to denote "offspring," "children," "posterity," alike in Greek and in Hebrew. Thus the entire life of man on this earth, from its first appearance to the obsequies that attest its departure, corresponds to the life of the seed, as it germinates in the ground. In short, our life on this earth is compared to the life of the living seed-germ in the ground. In both cases, as I have already said, it is a living thing and not a dead thing that is sown. This same figure of speech is used in the Old Testament. Thus in Nah. i. 14, we read: "The Lord hath given commandment concerning thee (that is, the people of Nineveh), that no more of thy name (or people) be

sown" ; and again in Hos. ii. 23: "I will sow her (*i.e.* Israel) on the earth." God is the sower, and the seed sown are the living sons of men. In 4 Ezra, a Jewish work of the first century A.D., we find the following perfect parallel: "As the husbandman sows many seeds in the earth—but not all are saved—no more shall all men be saved *who are sown in the world*" (viii. 41). In an earlier chapter we have another perfect parallel, where the inhabitants of this world are described as "those who are sown on the earth" (v. 48). In all these cases it is not a man's dead body—buried in the earth—that is referred to, but it is the man himself, living and developing on the earth. The life of man on the earth is compared to the life of the seed sown in the earth and growing under the surface of the earth, but not yet appearing above the ground. The sowing, therefore, to which St. Paul refers, is not the sowing of a dead body in the ground, as multitudes of theologians of the past have thought as well as in the present, but to God's sowing of the souls of men on the earth.

That this is the Apostle's meaning will become clearer as we consider the opposing members in the various contrasts drawn in 1 Cor. xv. 42–44. First the living principle of man—that is, the spirit—is said to be "sown in corruption." Now, what is the meaning of the words "sown in corruption"? This phrase, it is true, could be used of the body decaying in the grave; but in St. Paul's phraseology the term "corruption" is applied to the entire material environment of the living man, including his own living body, and not to the dead body in the grave. Thus in Rom. viii. 21 he declares that this life is in "the bondage of corruption,"[1] and in 2 Cor. iv. 16 he speaks of this present living body as "undergoing corruption." In both these

[1] *τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς.*

passages the same Greek word is used, though in the first it is a noun and in the second a verb, but unfortunately it is not literally reproduced in our English Bible. The passage should be rendered, "but though our outward man is undergoing corruption, yet our inward man is being renewed day by day."[1] Furthermore, "flesh and blood," the constituents of the present living body, are declared in 1 Cor. xv. 50 to be "corruption": "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither can corruption inherit incorruption." This interpretation is further supported in a work written in part before the Pauline Epistles, *i.e.* 2 Baruch, where this world is spoken of as "the world of corruption" (xl. 3, lxxiv. 2), whereas "the new world . . . does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness" (xliv. 12); and where also it is stated that the righteous lose by death "that which was subject to corruption"—that is, the material body—but receive in its stead that which shall not be corruptible (lxxxv. 5).

In the sister work 4 Ezra which I have already quoted and which also belongs to the first century of our era, this life is spoken of as "corruption" (viii. 53); it is stated also that "the day of judgment shall be the end of this age . . . (when) corruption has passed away" (vii. 113), and that a man's body is "a vessel of corruption."

Since St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians were written about the middle of the first century, and 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra[2] at different periods earlier and later than these Epistles, it follows that the words "it is sown in corruption" refer to the birth of a spiritual being in this material world, just as the words "it is raised in incorruption" refer to

[1] 2 Cor. iv. 16.

[2] Both these works come from several authors and different periods of the first century.

man's entrance into the spiritual and eternal world of blessedness.

The next clause, " it is sown in dishonour : it is raised in glory," contrasts the miseries of this present life, which we experience in " this body of our humiliation " (Phil. iii. 21), with " the glory that shall be revealed in us " (Rom. viii. 18). Next it is said, " it is sown in weakness : it is raised in power." Here we have another fitting description of the living material body as a temporary organ or means of expression of the spirit. But as an organ of the spirit it is wholly inadequate : " The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." To call a dead body " weak " would be an absurdity, but such a term rightly describes the inherent feebleness as well as the limitations of man's material body, which affect the spirit that quickens and gives it life.

Finally this present body is called by St. Paul psychical, as an organ of the psyche or soul, and therefore as belonging wholly to this world and to this world only, whereas the risen or spiritual body is the creation of the spirit, adapted to any environment—to any of the 1,000,000 worlds—whither God may summon it, while the spirit acquires more and more adequately the capacity of creating a body adapted to these worlds in the measure in which it is faithful to the tasks God assigns it. Our English Bible unfortunately translates the Greek phrase for our material body by the misleading words " natural body." It should be rendered a material or psychical body—that is, a body fitted for the psyche or soul, the existence of which, according to the Apostle, is confined to the world. But in even the briefest treatment of this problem, the fact may not be ignored that St. Paul breaks with the entire traditional use of the terms " spirit " and " soul "—a breach which affects the meaning of the word " body," which, in his usage, is the means of

expressing or receiving impressions by the soul or spirit. And yet this meaning is not wholly new, as it appears to be derived by the Apostle from a fresh study of Gen. ii.–iii. In any case, St. Paul's new doctrine of the *soul and spirit* can be derived from the psychology of these chapters. His doctrine of the soul can be explained directly from Gen. ii.–iii., and his doctrine of the spirit indirectly. Now first, as to the soul, we discover that the ideas of Gen. ii.–iii. have been adopted almost without change. St. Paul implicitly appeals to Gen. ii. 7 as the foundation of his argument on the nature of the soul over against the spirit (1 Cor. xv. 45).

According to Gen. ii.–iii., the soul is regarded as the result of the quickening action of the Spirit on a material and lifeless form. It is there said that God first formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. It was not till then that man became a living soul. Thus the creation of man is the result of the action of the Spirit on a lifeless material form, which thereupon becomes a living soul. So conceived, the soul naturally perishes on the withdrawal of the Spirit—which is its real source of life.

The soul has, therefore, no existence in the next life. And such, in fact, is the later teaching of the Apostle. The soul, he holds, is the vital principle of the flesh (σάρξ). Hence the epithets "fleshly" and "soulish" (σαρκικός, 1 Cor. iii. 3, and ψυχικός, 1 Cor. xv. 44) are taken to be synonyms and used over against "spiritual" (πνευματικός, 1 Cor. xv. 44, 46). Furthermore, the soul is never conceived *as capable of being the bearer of the higher spiritual life* by St. Paul. He never speaks, as almost all the other writers of the New Testament do, of *the salvation of the soul*,[1] save in his earliest

[1] See Appendix at the end of this sermon.

Epistle (1 Thess. v. 23), where this phrase, "*salvation of the soul*," is merely a popular expression and a total misrepresentation of the Apostle's later and fully developed psychology. It is true, indeed, that the almost universal usage is to connect the term "salvation" not with any one part of man but with the entire man. In one passage, however, he speaks of the saving of the spirit (1 Cor. v. 5), no doubt as forming the essential element in man. Now in such a passage the Apostle could not have spoken of the saving of the soul; for, though according to the current view of his day he describes man as a synthesis of "spirit and flesh" (Col. ii. 5) and "spirit and body" (1 Cor. v. 3), he never uses the still more popular expression "soul and body." Again, that according to St. Paul the soul belongs wholly to the sphere of this life, follows also from his teaching on the psychical body and the spiritual body. The whole after-life of the faithful belongs to the spiritual sphere. The faithful in the after-life are spirits, using whatever organisms are suitable to the various environments or worlds to which God calls them.

The existence of the soul in St. Paul's Epistles appears, therefore, to be absolutely confined to this life, though throughout the rest of the New Testament, spirit and soul are practically synonymous terms.

Thus, whereas man's present body is corruptible and circumscribed with limitations and weakness, making it a very inadequate organ of the spirit, the spiritual body is to enjoy incorruptibility, and honour and power, and become an adequate organ of the spirit. Between the two bodies there is no real continuity or likeness, except in the fact that they are successive expressions of the same spirit, though in different spheres of being. It is the same spirit that organizes and makes use of each in turn, alike to express

itself in this material world and to receive impressions from this material world, and in due course similarly to express itself and receive impressions in the spiritual world, when it passes the bourne whence no traveller returns.

But, if it is the same living principle that organizes the two bodies, first the material or psychical body for life on this earth, and next the spiritual body for life in the spiritual worlds that follow, we conclude with the Apostle that since the faithless lose their material body at death and can never —so long as they remain faithless—acquire a spiritual body, the faithless are conceived as "naked," that is, disembodied beings. "Naked" (2 Cor. v. 3) is a Pauline term used in this sense. As disembodied beings the faithless have either wholly or in part lost the means of expressing themselves and of receiving impressions from without, and have thus doomed themselves to the worst of all punishments—to a prison-house of their own creation, to the horrors of a solitary confinement, by reason of which the whole universe of personalities, of God, of angels, and of men, and the whole world of truth, goodness, and love, have wholly or in part become inaccessible to them. They have atrophied all their spiritual powers. Most of us are familiar with persons who, through their intense and growing selfishness, have made considerable progress towards this prison-house, which is a prison of their own creation, and in which they are constituting themselves their own gaolers.

We have now dealt with the characteristics of the material body as the immediate organ of the soul in this life, and the spiritual body as the organ of the spirit in the world to come.

The question now arises: When does the resurrection of the spirit take place? In his earlier Epistles Paul makes it follow on the second advent of Christ (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52):

"The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible." This was the Jewish tradition, and for many years of his life St. Paul clung to it, even after he had arrived at conclusions inconsistent with it. It is inconsistent with the doctrine of the risen body with which we have just dealt; for clearly, when a good man dies, the energies of the human spirit are immediately set free to fashion for themselves a new body—a body adapted to its new environment—in one of the countless worlds of God's creation, one of the many mansions of which our Lord speaks.

Thus the resurrection of the faithful individual follows immediately on death and is not, as Judaism taught, adjourned to some date millenniums or millions of years in the far distant future. In fact, St. Paul's growing thought had come into conflict with the traditional belief he had inherited from the Jews. At first he was not conscious of this inconsistency, but when we come to the crisis he underwent when he wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, he had begun to be aware of the contradiction; for, in the fifth chapter of this Epistle, *the resurrection of the faithful immediately after death is plainly set forth.* "We know," St. Paul writes (2 Cor. v. 1), "that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved" (that is, if our earthly body perishes), "we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." In other words, we come forthwith into possession of our spiritual body in heaven, or, by the help of God's Spirit, the power of creating any such body that may be needed. "For verily," he proceeds, "in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven, if so be that we shall be found clothed (and) not naked."

A few verses later he writes: "Being therefore always of good courage, and knowing that whilst we are at home

in the body, we are absent from the Lord . . . we are willing rather to be absent from the body" (that is, to die), "and to be at home with the Lord." The faithful man goes home to Christ—not as a disembodied spirit, fit only for the Sheol of Judaism or the Hades of the heathen Greek world, he goes home not as a mutilated and, so to speak, truncated being, but as a complete and blessed personality, so far as a finite being can be said to be complete.

In conclusion, St. Paul breaks with another tradition of the Elders. After his Second Epistle to the Corinthians the Apostle no longer speaks of a *resurrection* of the faithful to glory at Christ's coming or at the final judgment, but of a *manifestation* of the glory they already possess, as in Rom. viii. 19: "the earnest longing of the creation waiteth" (not for the resurrection but) "for the revelation of the sons of God." Here St. Paul teaches that already in this life the truly religious life is in reality the resurrection life—at least in part: "If ye" (that is, his readers), "be *risen* with Christ" (that is, share in His resurrection), "seek the things which are above" (Col. iii. 1). And still more clearly in Col. iii. 4: "When Christ, who is our life, shall be revealed, then shall ye also be revealed with Him in glory."

APPENDIX

I have not held fast to the Pauline usage, but have constantly, in common with the usage of the day, used "spirit" and "soul" and even "mind" as synonymous. The reader should consult Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of NT Greek*, 503–10, 582–6, where the various meanings of πνεῦμα and ψυχή are treated with great fullness. But the present writer cannot agree with all his statements—especially those relating to the Pauline usage.

V

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN ACCORDING TO ST. PAUL (*continued*), AND LIKEWISE ACCORDING TO OUR LORD

LAST Sunday afternoon we recognized that St. Paul, in his later Epistles, no longer spoke of a resurrection to a blessed immortality at Christ's coming, but of a manifestation of the blessed life they already possessed at His coming (Rom. viii. 19). But the development of the Apostle's thought did not pause here. Under the guidance of the Divine Spirit he arrived at yet another and higher development in his later Epistles. In these later Epistles he speaks of the *spiritual resurrection* of the faithful as already accomplished in this life. Thus he writes: "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead," [1] and thereby identifies man's true religious life with the spiritual resurrection of man. Hence the faithful are admonished to live unto Him that died for them and rose again (2 Cor. v. 15); and are instructed that already even in this life they are "alive from the dead" (Rom. vi. 13). In the same chapter (vi. 9) he speaks of Christ "being raised (ἐγερθείς) from the dead," and exhorts his readers to consider themselves as "alive unto God in Christ Jesus" (vi. 11); and later, in Col. iii. 1, he uses the very same words of the faithful: "If ye then be risen with (συνηγέρθητε) Christ" (that is, if ye have attained to the spiritual resurrection), "seek those things that are above."

[1] ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν (Eph. v. 14).

But still more clearly, in Eph. ii. 5, 6, the spiritual life is declared to be one and the same with the spiritual resurrection: "Even when we were dead in trespasses and sins, (God) quickened us together (συνεζωοποίησε) with Christ—and raised us up with Him" (συνήγειρε).

It is true that this spiritual life and resurrection are only in part realized by man whilst on earth, and of this none was more conscious than St. Paul. But this life is the earnest of a fuller life hereafter. Physical death does not of itself make any change in man's moral or spiritual life, but makes possible his passing to another and better world, where the fuller development of this life will follow as a matter of course for those who seek it. Death may in this sense be said to be the gate of life, in that it admits man to a higher stage in life. Man does not die and resume life at some later indefinite point of time. He lives on and through what men call death. Nor does death change man's character: it only changes his environment; it does not create a break in the continuity of his life, but rather it removes interruptions and hindrances to its larger growth, if such be his aim.

Furthermore, just as St. Paul brings the resurrection life into the closest relation, or rather identity, with eternal life, so also does our Lord.

But it is clearly my duty, owing to a large correspondence from the readers of the résumé in *The Times*, since last Sunday, to repeat the essential distinction between resuscitation and resurrection, since resuscitation and resurrection seem to be generally, if not universally, confused. Resuscitation is the restoration of the comatose, the dying or the dead body to the old life of the flesh. Numerous examples of resuscitation are mentioned in the Old Testament and in the Gospels. The raising of Lazarus and of the widow of Nain's son are

not instances of resurrection to a blessed future life, but simply instances of resuscitation.[1] Such resuscitated persons as Lazarus or the widow of Nain's son must, in the course of a few years, inevitably again have died. But, if they were worthy, they must have passed thereupon from this life to the blessed life of the eternal years, and this life it is that constitutes the true resurrection life in its more fully developed form.

We now proceed to deal with our Lord's teaching on the resurrection.

But before we enter on this question, it is advisable to distinguish the two kinds of miracles assigned in the Gospels to our Lord. The first class of miracles belong to His spiritual life and teaching—He manifested the life of God on earth, and lived as man never lived: He spake as never man spake: He taught with an authority which no man ever claimed. But as regards the second class of miracles, which are mainly of a material character, our Lord Himself clearly was in doubt at times, and expressed conflicting views on their spiritual value, as we shall presently see. In John xv. 24, He assigns a high value to His works, no doubt both spiritual and material, when He declares: "If I had not

[1] The reader should observe that there are two words used in the New Testament in this connection—*ἀνιστάναι*, or some other mood of it, "to raise" or "to rise" from the dead either to this life or a future eternal life, and *ἐγείρειν*, with the same two meanings. The former word is used occasionally in profane Greek in the sense of "to resuscitate"; cf. Hom. xxiv. 551, etc. But *ἐγείρειν* never is so used in profane Greek. *ἀνιστάναι* occurs in the sense of "to raise to life" 26 times or thereabouts, and *ἐγείρειν* between 3 or 4 score of times. But, whereas the latter means "to resuscitate" nearly a score of times, the former has this meaning only 4 times as verb or noun (Luke iv. 39, Acts ix. 41, etc.). Both *ἀνάστασις* (36 times) and *ἔγερσις* (once) are used of a resurrection to a future life. Finally, as in footnote (p. 47), I have shown that *ἐγείρειν* and *ἀναστῆναι* are used as synonyms in the sense of waking to the true resurrection life on earth.

done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin." But the Jews were seekers after signs, worshippers of unintelligible marvels, as were the pagans also. And so the spiritual appeal failed. Again, in Matt. xi. 21, 23, our Lord speaks of the influence of such miracles, where He declares that, if the wonders He wrought in Chorazin and Bethsaida had been wrought in Tyre and Sidon they would have repented long ago. But Tyre and Sidon were heathen cities, and the nature of the repentance of heathens has never been regarded as of a high character. Now in the above passages difference of opinion is possible as to our Lord's views on these mighty works just mentioned, but not in those that follow. Thus, in John vi. 26, He says: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye seek Me, not because ye saw the signs, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were satisfied," that is, you wanted nothing higher. The meaning here obviously is: the sign was to you a gross satisfaction of the body, whereas its true design was to awake the hunger of the soul.

But even many of the unintelligent and unlearned may question this interpretation. Let us then study a passage that cannot be questioned, and which gives the keynote for the interpretation of other passages on this subject. If you turn to Matt. vii. 22–23, you will find our Lord's indubitable condemnation of those who wrought miracles and yet were not true disciples of Christ: "Many will say to Me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not . . . in Thy name cast out devils? and in Thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from Me, ye that work iniquity." Even the Jewish Rabbis set no ethical or religious value on miracles; for in Matt. xii. 27, Mark iii. 22, Luke xi. 18, they ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub. Thus mere marvels

or unintelligible wonders are valueless in the spiritual world.

That such unintelligible wonders still occur as those at the house of Loretto and at Lourdes and elsewhere, the Roman Catholic branch of the Church strongly maintains. And the strange thing is, that, though these wonders are both unintelligible and fictitious, certain types of mind are ready to accept them as true on the *ipse dixit* of a self-constituted authority.

So far as men accept them as trustworthy, they are merely unintelligible occurrences, which in themselves are no guarantee for a spiritual change in those who experience or those who witness them.[1]

With these unintelligible wonders we must not confound the " marvels " that are now wrought every day by Medicine and Surgery. In the latter provinces, the causes, of whatever nature, are, when possible, carefully traced and eliminated. Here the element of unintelligibility is removed. Hence such achievements cannot be included under the category of the New Testament miracles.

But the true and first kind of miracle is the conversion of the soul or the spiritual transformation of man, by virtue of which, the persons so affected are endowed with an ever-growing likeness to God—a growth, also, which is at once necessary and continuous, if the persons so transformed continue faithful.

To the second class, which consist of unintelligible wonders,

[1] As regards the gross physical miracles which the writings of ecclesiastics, monks, and nuns recount continuously from almost the beginning of our era, the reader, in order to learn how quickly these fictitious and hurtful growths spring up, should consult Abbott, *Thomas of Canterbury*, vol. i. p. 223, where he shows that " the miracles at Thomas à Becket's tomb . . . seem to have begun almost immediately after the night of his death." Subsequently whole histories of such " miracles " were written.

belongs the so-called resurrection of the *present material* body. This material body has no connection of any kind with the spirit after death, which receives a new body fitted to its spiritual environment. To the first and spiritual class of miracles belongs the resurrection of the spirit, which, in the measure of its oneness with God, is enabled to clothe itself anew in a body adapted to express itself in any of the million worlds that God has created.

Transformations of the faithful follow immediately on the death of the physical body, as we have already pointed out. Good Friday, or the day when the faithful soul passes the bounds of space and time, is really its Easter Sunday; for *there is no gap in the spiritual life or personality*, least of all in that of our Lord.

Let us now turn to our Lord's teaching on the resurrection of man. That it was identical with that of St. Paul we shall presently learn. This becomes clear first of all from His controversy with the Sadducees, who, as we know, maintained that there was no resurrection and no blessed future life, and who, to prove their case, set forth the difficulties that followed on a belief in a material resurrection, such as most of the Pharisees believed in. To those difficulties mark well the nature of Christ's rejoinder. First of all our Lord denies the resurrection of the flesh. When the faithful rise, He declares, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are equal to the angels, that is, they assume such bodies or organs of expression as are adapted to their new and spiritual environment. In the next place Christ adopts a rabbinic method of argument in dealing with the words in Ex. iii. 6: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." With this method, which is an *argumentum ad hominem*, we are not concerned here, but only with Christ's declaration of the truth, which He associates

for the first time with these words; and this declaration is, that the patriarchs are alive, and alive in the fullest sense, seeing that they "live unto Him (*i.e.* God)" (Luke xx. 38).[1] And that the life which the patriarchs already enjoy presupposes their resurrection as having already taken place, follows clearly from the context in which this statement occurs; for the question at issue between our Lord and the Sadducees, the doctrine in dispute, is the resurrection: Do the dead rise? To this our Lord practically replies: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob have already risen; for they are even now alive unto God, and our Lord shows that our resurrection is only the beginning of the higher and diviner life, which follows immediately on the departure of the spirit from this life. "But," to use our Lord's words, "that the dead are raised even Moses showed . . . when he called the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Now (God) is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all" (*i.e.* the faithful referred to) "live unto Him" (Luke xx. 37–38). Now it is remarkable that 4 Macc. xvi. 25, written between A.D. 40 and 60, contains almost the same words as those used by our Lord. The words there are: "Those who die on behalf of God live unto God, as Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob." And, as the patriarchs, so all the faithful, when they die, are received immediately into heaven, according to the teaching of this early book. The Sadducees evidently could not contradict the conclusion which our Lord thus drew from the words of Exodus.

But on this admission there followed, as our Lord states, a further conclusion. Since the departed are alive unto God, they have already risen from the dead. This is the central thought of the context. They are not disembodied spirits, they are not mutilated personalities, without the power of

[1] These words refer to all the faithful (Luke xx. 35–36).

expressing themselves or receiving impressions, which is the function of the spiritual body, but personalities enjoying a fuller and more blessed life than they could on earth, seeing that they "live unto God." If our Lord's words do not bear this meaning, then we must despair of language as a vehicle of thought.

Proceeding from the first three Gospels to the eleventh chapter of the fourth, we find again and in quite a different connection the same conception of the after-life assigned to our Lord. When Christ bids Martha to be hopeful as to her brother's resurrection, she replies with a Jewish platitude: "I know that he shall rise again at the resurrection at the last day." Now, as for this theological platitude of Judaism, our Lord impatiently brushes it aside as a misleading and comfortless belief, and declares that faith in Himself is the one truth that satisfies every need of men. Christ's words are: "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth on Me, though he die, yet shall he live: yea, whosoever liveth and believeth on Me shall never die," that is, he has already entered into the resurrection life (John xi. 25). Christ's words stand in strong contrast to those of Martha, and the implication is that, since Christ's words are the essential truth, those of Martha were in some respects either partially or wholly wrong. We conclude, therefore, that Christ declared that the faithful live on through that change which we call death—and are not condemned after that change to a partial and mutilated life in Hades, the home of disembodied spirits or shades, till, in some far distant age, thousands or millions of years hence, in the General Resurrection, they should be raised to the new life.

The faithful, therefore, pass from this life immediately to another and a higher. Their passing from this life might be designated their Good Friday, like that of our Lord, as I

have already suggested. But their Good Friday might just as truly be designated their Easter Sunday, as that of our Lord's; for we cannot conceive our Lord as condemned to an imperfect and mutilated personality—even for a moment, when His Spirit forsook the material body. Neither in His case nor in that of the faithful is there room or occasion for the gross conception of the empty tomb. The Biblical conception of the personality of the faithful is that of the spirit with a body adapted to its environment—of whatever nature that environment may be, here and hereafter.

Death is treated as an incident or a mere episode in life for those who are striving, despite many a sin and shortcoming, to be Christ's disciples; and the resurrection is declared to be essentially a present fact in the case of the faithful, and not a mere future possibility: it is the true life of the spirit even in this world, which, growing truer and purer, and more loving and strong even here, shall attain to ever higher stages of fulfilment in the world to come. So far as a man lives in Christ here on earth, he is living the resurrection life in a real though limited measure. To realize in ever fuller and growing measure the possibilities open to him, he must, when God wills it, be released from his present physical environment; and welcome with thanksgiving and joy the angel that comes to guide his stumbling steps over the bourne that divides this world from the next, and leads him through the blessed gate that admits to the eternal city of God.

But, if the faithful, as our Lord and St. Paul taught, have already risen more or less in their complete personalities, then a further conclusion follows, and this is, that Christ had no further relation with His physical body after His death on the cross. His personality was not mutilated for a moment. The *mere physical* body had, as the narra-

tives of the Resurrection show, when tested critically, scientifically, and historically, no essential relation, nor indeed a relation of any kind with the spirit after death. It had served its purpose and was wholly inadequate for His further tasks. We conclude, therefore, that the spirit of the faithful after death is endowed with power to clothe itself in a body adapted to its new environment, or probably to any environment to which it may be summoned by God. But the Jews, prior to Christianity and most of them down to the present day, as well as the vast mass of Christian people, cannot comprehend or believe in a personality apart from the present actual physical body, which is a purely materialistic and pagan belief.

The adjournment of the Resurrection for three days and three nights, but really for less than two whole days,[1] was simply due to the *spiritual* incapacity of the Apostles to recognize *sooner than the second day* the Spiritual Risen Christ, though He was always present for those who could recognize Him during those two days. A similar incapacity attached to St. Paul. The spiritual appearances of Christ to the Apostles and St. Paul were real, and essentially of the same character. But only the spiritually-minded disciples of Christ could witness them, and these appearances did not go on continuously, as in the case of the alleged appearances recorded by foolish or false writers ever since that period. Our Lord's appearances were limited to the forty days during which He confirmed the faith He had taught His disciples during His life on earth.

In the Spirit, Christ communes with all His faithful

[1] Matt. xii. 40. A mere gloss. See M'Neile *in loc.* It represents Christ as in the grave, or Hades, for three days and three nights, *i.e.* from 6 p.m. on Friday to dawn on Sunday. But the loose datings of the Resurrection and many of the statements that follow the Crucifixion cannot be accepted.

disciples. Spiritually they have already risen with Him. The truth then holds eternally. If ye be risen with Christ and are truly His disciples, you will not, as you leave this life, have mutilated personalities, any more than you have mutilated personalities now.

Hence, to regard Christ as a mutilated personality, even for a moment after His death on the cross, is a gross misconception and a misrepresentation—which has no other support than the legend of the empty tomb. To connect our Lord's Resurrection with such a gross physical miracle as the empty tomb,[1] would make it impossible for thoughtful people to believe in Christ's Resurrection and in His full spiritual life immediately after His death on the cross. And as our Lord, so His faithful disciples, with their full personalities, enter forthwith, as they pass from this life, into the blessed eternal life of the hereafter in the fullest measure their growth admits of, wherein they will serve God and the Master with ever-growing powers in the numberless worlds of His creation.

[1] Omitted by St. Paul, when in 1 Cor. xv. he gives many grounds of evidence for the Resurrection.

VI

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN

UNIVERSAL DESIRE FOR A FUTURE LIFE: ARGUMENTS AGAINST AND FOR A BLESSED FUTURE LIFE

"If a man die, shall he live again?"—Job xiv. 14.
"And thou shalt seek me diligently, but I shall not be."—Job vii. 21.

THESE verses and many others in the Old Testament represent men as being wholly annihilated at death, or as reduced to a hopeless condition of practical unconsciousness for all eternity.

Now, on the preceding afternoons, I dealt mainly with the history of man's expectations as to the nature of the future life in the Old and the New Testaments. On this and on later occasions it is my intention to advance various grounds for belief in this great doctrine, especially as not only the popular views but those of large bodies of ecclesiastics appear to the severe student of these questions to be based on untrustworthy foundations.

I have chosen the above words from Job simply to introduce the question which can never be other than one of supreme interest and importance to all the children of men in all stages of their development and at all periods of their history, and this question is: "Is there a future life, or is death the final goal of all souls?"

Now, in this and the following sermons, I will deal with these questions mainly from the standpoint of the ethical and spiritual truths whereby man lives and grows. What science has to say on this question will be placed before you. Primitive beliefs in a future life will be incidentally referred to, but our paramount concern will be with man's ethical and spiritual claims for a future life.

Since belief in the immortality of the soul is practically universal, the very fact that it is so has been advanced as an all but conclusive argument for the truth of this belief. Now it is quite true that this belief is all but universal. Amongst almost all races in primitive ages, and almost all races of primitive culture in modern times, the idea of death as the final destiny of mankind is unknown. Indeed, Sir James Fraser, one of our greatest authorities on this question, writes (*Belief in Immortality*, vol. i. p. 468) as follows: "It is impossible not to be struck by the strength, and perhaps we may say universality, of the natural belief in immortality among the savage races of mankind. With them a life after death is not a matter of speculation or conjecture, of hope or fear; it is a practical certainty, which the individual as little thinks of doubting as he doubts the reality of his conscious existence. He assumes it without inquiry and acts upon it without hesitation, as if it were one of the best ascertained truths within the limits of human experience." But this belief is persistent not only amongst our primitive ancestors and our savage contemporaries, it is held in various forms and with various degrees of conviction by practically all the civilized nations of the present day. Notwithstanding, it is unwarrantable to argue from the prevalence of a belief to its truth, unless the belief in question is one of the primary assumptions of thought—that is, an assumption which must be conceded, if we are to reason at

all. Now it must be admitted that belief in a future life is not of this nature.

But, though not of this nature, it cannot be denied that the desire for a future life is latent in all men. It may not be the conscious possession of all men, whether owing to moral shortcomings, to the materialistic theories or systems of education which have influenced their early years, or to an environment of so hopeless and tragic a character that it eradicates from the soul every interest in this life, and inspires it with a horror of its continuance in any other. Yet, despite all these hostile influences, this belief in man's high destiny persists, and persists no doubt owing to the fact that the best men of all times are conscious of ethical and spiritual aspirations and ideals, to which they feel bound to give expression in their lives, and which nevertheless they can never succeed in so doing in this life. In such efforts, however, we can hardly fail to recognize the presence of a purpose in man as man which, whether latently or consciously, gives birth to these inextinguishable longings for the fulfilment of his ideals, and allows a man, when once he has become conscious of them and is a true man, no rest till he has realized, or tried to realize them in this life or that which, in his deepening convictions, is yet to come. Indeed, it can hardly be denied that, when the necessary conditions for the birth and growth of these latent aspirations come into being, they seldom fail to assert themselves in some degree, and in their higher development they are often transformed into passionate longings for a personal immortality—and that an immortality that is ever advancing in truth and goodness, in wisdom and love.

While, therefore, we must admit that the existence of a desire is in itself no evidence that the desire in question will be realized, we should at the same time point out that

this may be due to the nature of the individual desire. Some desires, perhaps most, are purely self-centred, selfish, and directed to things material and temporal, but a whole world divides these desires from those which are disinterested and spiritual, and which aim at the fulfilment of all the highest powers and possibilities distinctive of our humanity, and which, therefore, postulate eternity itself for their realization.

But this belief is questioned on many grounds, and sometimes on grounds that are due only to the lack of clear thinking in heedless or untrained minds. Thus it is often held, that, if a great idea can be traced back to an embryonic and unethical origin, such a mean ancestry must rob it of all its potential and actual value and truth. Accordingly, if the current conception of the soul and its destiny can be shown to be derived from primitive beliefs in ghosts or apparitions, it is contended that, as it was a superstition to begin with, so it must abide a superstition to the end. But, since we believe in the evolution of man, of religion, and of science, we know that constantly, in the course of this evolution, ideas, that were mere superstitions originally, have undergone a progressive purification, till the superstitious element has at last been wholly purged away.[1]

Furthermore, the soul's origin in time must not be taken to be identical with its ultimate ground or cause. The two things are quite distinct. Nor, in the circumstances attending the humble beginnings of the soul in time, can we discover grounds for discrediting its ultimate destiny. We might as well try to discredit Chemistry and Astronomy on the ground that they originated respectively in Alchemy and Astrology. From man's origin in time we cannot explain the various stages of his evolution: these can find their

[1] This points to an unconscious reason in human history, leading men to issues beyond the scope of their immediate reflection.

explanation only in man's final destiny. Aristotle's *dictum*, that the interpretation of things is to be found not in their beginning but in their end, does not admit of contradiction. It is an unpardonable blunder to attempt to explain any phenomenon by identifying it with its first rudimentary beginnings. We are what we are, and whatever may have been our origin, it cannot affect the claims of our personality nor our ultimate destiny.

From what I have just said it follows that true immortality is to be identified with the progressive development of the soul and not with a mere endlessness of being, during which the soul is either not advancing ethically, or is for ever repeating the same cycle of events. The aimlessness of such an existence is in itself a horror, apart from the evils that accompany it. So it was frequently conceived in the ancient world, and so it is at times popularly conceived in the modern world. But, so far as it is so conceived, it is emptied of all ethical and spiritual meaning and has therefore no religious significance of any kind.

Again, the belief in immortality, or rather in personal immortality, must not be confounded with the belief in the transmigration of souls,[1] which in reality is merely the occupation of a succession of bodies by some practically unconscious thing, wrongly called a soul. Immortality is the survival and fulfilment of the personal life and nothing less. The emphasis is to be laid on the *qualitative* element in life, that is, on its ethical and spiritual character, and not on its *quantitative* element, that is, on the endlessness of its existence. The quantitative or second element—endlessness of being—has no ethical or spiritual value in itself. The qualitative element in life—that is, the ethical and spiritual development of the soul or personality—is indis-

[1] See notes on pp. 64, 110.

pensable to any true conception or realization of immortality. Moral and spiritual development postulates continuous progress and therefore continuous change, and since change postulates time or some equivalent of time, then a progressive and endless development postulates an endless existence. In the course of this development the soul is a creative energy, bringing into existence ever fresh ethical and spiritual values.

Apart from the soul these values could not be created: they would never be more than idle abstractions, mere things of nought, with no more reality than the baseless fabric of a vision.

Since belief in a true immortality is impossible apart from the soul, we may provisionally at this stage define the term "soul." The soul, then, is the fount of memory, the self-conscious principle within man, the condition and ground of all his rational thought and action, the joint creator, though in an infinitesimal degree, with God of all its ethical and spiritual values, and this in ever-growing measure. If this is a true conception, the soul must outlive the dissolution of the material body.[1] Eternal life is a spiritual possession realized in part in the present; but for its complete realization it postulates eternity itself. But the emphasis is to be laid on the qualitative element in life and not on the quantitative, which is time, as we have already intimated. To this postulate we shall return later. It is clear, then, on

[1] Cf. Pringle-Pattison, *Idea of Immortality*, p. 100. "We know . . . the kind of thing the self is, the nature of the existence which it enjoys, and the kind of unity and continuity which it actually possesses. This coherent unity of experience is the self, mind, or soul in the only intelligible sense of the words." Ward (*Realm of Ends*, p. 391 *seq.*) defines the soul as "our self-conscious life, not as a flux of accidents pertaining with we know not what all beside to some substratum or other, but as the actions and reactions of a thing *per se*, or rather of a subject in a world of such, as the intercourse of such a subject with other subjects."

what grounds we reject the false conception of immortality which identifies it with mere endlessness of being.

The next false conception of immortality from which the true conception of immortality must be distinguished is that urged by the mystics of many ages. This conception first of all condemns the desire for personal immortality as a desire essentially selfish, and then proceeds to maintain that the loss of our personality would be an actual gain, and that man cannot be united with God save by the destruction or absorption of the self in God. But such a conclusion rests on the confusion of the two selves in man—the higher and the lower. The lower self does separate man from God—and likewise from his neighbour. The higher self does not sever man from God but seeks communion with, and growing likeness to, God as its supreme end. Furthermore, when the human will is disciplined into harmony with the Divine, it does not lose its identity when its goal is won, and the goal is won when the relation between the Divine Spirit and the spirit of man is at once voluntary and complete.

To question this fact is to confound a perfect relation between two beings with the absorption of both in one, and that, of course, of the lesser in the greater.

But this is not all. This so-called highest life,[1] as con-

[1] In Brahmanism the ideal is the absorption of the individual soul in the Universal (Pantheism): in Buddhism the ideal is the extinction of all desire even for a future life, and accordingly the extinction of the soul. Not even the gods survive. In fact, the persistence of the personal life after death is conceived by both these religions as a curse and not a blessing. When the Buddhist saint attains his goal his soul has ceased to be: he has passed into a world "where there is . . . neither infinity of space nor infinity of consciousness, nor nothingness, nor perception, nor absence of perception, neither this world nor that world . . . neither motion nor rest, neither death nor birth. . . . That is the end of sorrow" (*The Udana*, translated by Strong, 1902, p. 111; quoted by Estlin Carpenter in *Buddhism and Christianity*). "He is one with life, yet lives not. He is blessed ceasing to be." Buddha denied the existence of any personality

ceived by certain extreme mystics in India and elsewhere, is beyond all imagination barren and empty; for this so-called highest life is bereft of conscious desire and will and thought and love and every element of the Divine. Man, if raised to this "highest life," would be made lower than the beasts; for they at least have some sort of consciousness. Even Huxley resents the charge that the desire for immortality is a selfish desire, in the following words: "I confess that my dull moral sense does not enable me to see anything base or selfish in the desire for a future life among the spirits of just men made perfect, or even among a few fallible souls such as one has known here below" (*Nineteenth Century*, September 1877).

In this preliminary sketch of our subject we cannot ignore another false conception of immortality, which was

which could pass from one life to another. Man was to Buddha merely a bundle of perceptive and receptive qualities, and when these were dispersed by death the so-called soul ceased to exist. But if there were constant rebirths of the imperfect, what was the connecting link between such existences? Buddha's explanation, which is unintelligible to the Western mind, was that, though souls ceased to exist, their deeds or character (*i.e.* Karma) persisted and entered into bodies adapted to their moral standard in the next stage of existence. But explain it as they may, the Buddhists cannot evade the conclusion that in some undefined way what we call personality persists. For what is it that links together the deeds and qualities, that constitute the Karma of the individual in one existence and that keep this Karma one and intact, when it migrates into the next? Some such postulate is demanded by the detailed lives of Gautama Buddha. Yet the transmigration of the ego is denied. Many Indian thinkers could not accept such teaching. Hence two "heresies" arose on the question of "self." One maintained the real existence of the "self" in this world and in the world to come: the other the existence of the self in this world, but not in the world to come. Orthodox Buddhism denied both these views. See pp. 62, 67, and notes. Hence here is a lack of clear thinking and a positively irrational element in Buddhism. Oriental thought, combined with vague speculations on the Trinity in the Early Church, appears to have influenced the Ingersoll Lecture on *Immortality and the Modern Mind*, 1922, by Professor Lake.

advocated by some prominent writers in the last century. This view was inculcated with great force by the Positivists, who rejected the idea of individual immortality. According to the Positivists, immortality was based on the solidarity and continuity of the human race. All the individual members of the human race are, they rightly urged, so linked together, that the good results of each man's thoughts, desires, and actions on his fellow-men are real and permanent, and, since the triumph of truth and goodness is the main desideratum, it matters not that the individual perishes, so long as the good he has wrought survives and reaches its end in the redemption of the race.

Now though Positivism was a dying creed fifty years ago, it has been revived within the last thirty. Various forms of this view are allowed as admissible, even in circles where they are not accepted. Thus a modern Christian thinker writes that "the problem of personal immortality can be left untouched without affecting the deepest religion. Religion is, above all, present experience, something to be possessed here and now without future reference." With the fallacy underlying this statement, we shall deal later. But before we leave the Positivist conception of immortality, I cannot refrain from quoting this conception in the noblest form in which it has ever found expression, and that is in the words of George Eliot:

> "O may I join the choir invisible
> Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence: live
> In pulses stirred to generosity,
> In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
> Of miserable aims that end in self,
> In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars
> And with their mild persistence urge men's search
> To vaster issues. . . .

May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardour, feel pure love. . . .
Be the sweet presence of a love diffused
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible,
Whose music is the gladness of the world."

This may seem to be the expression of a very noble and disinterested humility, and it no doubt sprang from some such emotion. But, if we assign it its true place in the hierarchy of values, what does it amount to, and how can this choir invisible benefit either God or man, seeing that the choir itself is dumb; for the invisible has in reality become non-existent, according to the Positivist Creed.

But it is not difficult to show the futility of this conception of the future, which teaches the extinction of the individual but the ever-advancing progress of the race, embodying in itself all the good that every individual contributed. It is enough to point out that there is no certainty of the continuous moral progress of the race, and that, even if this were an assured fact, as we trust it is, the complete attainment of the ideal would be impossible; for since the individual, according to this theory, perishes with the dissolution of the body, so the entire race, with all its works, must sooner or later perish on the dissolution of the solar system, or millions of years earlier through the collision of our earth with some planet that has lost its bearings.

Hence there can be no immortality on this theory either of the race of men or even of their works. Their ultimate goal is simply annihilation.[1]

[1] The soul is not an unconscious substratum, as in the doctrine of metempsychosis. This word (as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and later Fathers recognized) is a comparatively late name for μετενσωμάτωσις (= passage from one body to another). For, according to the doctrine of

We have so far considered briefly the inadequacy of the substitutes proposed at different ages for a personal immortality. None of these substitutes can in any true measure take the place of a right belief on this question. But, a right belief in itself is not enough: it cannot remain merely a belief. It must become a truth wrought out in everyday life; for from the standpoint of this truth every thought, word, and deed bear fruit alike for time and eternity. It thus becomes a spiritual force in the heart, growing more and more in purity and disinterestedness with every advance it makes into the unknown. The disinterested character of the true doctrine of immortality cannot be too strongly emphasized. The real purpose of immortality is to give to all men the fullest opportunities of realizing the truest and best, the purest and most selfless ideals, that have ever visited the human heart. Rightly conceived, therefore, it is the most practical of doctrines. To regard it simply as an intellectual fact or a mere article of belief is to misconceive it wholly. But here we must be on our guard. It is, it is true, a very practical doctrine, but we must not

the transmigration of souls, no conscious link persists between the new existence and the old. There is only the transference of an unconscious existence from one body to another. "The concept of personality carries with it the thought of manifold relations which the self sustains to the outer world and the society of other selves, as well as the body of memories which are involved in these relations" (Galloway, *Idea of Immortality*, p. 23). The words of Pringle-Pattison are here apposite. "Individuation," Pringle-Pattison writes, "is the very method . . . of creation. Without it there would be no finite world at all. . . . Individuation is the method of the process, an individuation growing in distinctness and independence till it culminates in the self-conscious spirit of man, who, just because he has his own *locus* of existence, can enter into communion with his fellows and with his Creative Source" (*Idea of Immortality*, p. 157). See also his *Idea of God*[2], pp. 256–297, where "The Absolute and the Finite Individual" are discussed, especially with regard to Bernard Bosanquet's philosophy.

adopt it because of the manifold compensations it promises in another life ; else we shall fail to realize it aright. It is not to be sought for itself. However nobly conceived, it is not to be the main object of man's quest, but only to be regarded as its inevitable sequel. It is nothing less than the indispensable precondition of the soul's finding its full and ultimate satisfaction in God. But merely to believe in such immortality and not to act as it requires, is fatal. For it is quite possible to believe in a future life and yet to be wholly destitute of any real goodness. There are multitudes who regard every good action as an investment : who do things which are regarded conventionally as right, and shun things which are conventionally regarded as wrong, from purely selfish motives. The principle which guides such multitudes cannot be recognized in the kingdom of God either here or hereafter. In fact, a profound selfishness attaches to most, if not to all our traditional beliefs about rewards and punishments in the world to come. This selfishness has been exploited by all religions in the past, and particularly the mediæval Christian Church and its spiritual successors in the Roman Communion, by their mechanical conceptions of purgatory and masses, and so the means that were designed to heal this spiritual disease have only served to aggravate it. But, however false the Churches may become to their ideal, the best men cannot help retaining a passion for disinterestedness, a longing to love something for its own sake and not for the good returns it may fetch them in this life or another. But to love God or his neighbour, to love an immortal life for the comfort and good things that such love may bring with it, is not love at all but sheer selfishness. The men who do not believe in a future life, and yet act rightly and from purely disinterested motives, are infinitely nearer the kingdom of God than such

self-seekers. But the true man, who loves God and goodness for their own sake and not for what such love may bring, is the only disinterested and therefore the only true believer in a future life. He believes in that life—not from a selfish desire for its joys and blessings, but from the desire to do God's will and to see in the after life the complete vindication, alike in himself and his brethren, of the claims of justice and truth and goodness, which have in some degree asserted themselves in the present life.

But, if this life were all, then there is no justice in the universe, no lasting good, springing from its endless pain and sorrow, no real and inextinguishable glory from its moral victories. Save for a few heroic souls there is nothing but unutterable shame and horror pervading the world from its first beginnings to its close. And so all the best things, that the human mind has conceived and that human love has wrought in purest disinterestedness, are but idle vanities, the delusions of men who would herein appear to be better than the God who made them.

But, after all, the question may suggest itself: Can this great hope be a self-delusion on the part of man? If it is so, then mark well who are the victims of this delusion. Not the men of arrested spiritual development or of atrophied conscience, not the world's derelicts and moral invertebrates, not its time-servers and self-seekers, not its evil-doers and filthy dreamers. In this respect, and in this alone, would these starved and dishonoured souls have gauged the measure of man and penetrated the inmost purposes of the Most High. And just as on this theory it would be the most shortsighted or even the most mean and vicious and profligate of men that had penetrated the purposes of God and the ultimate destinies of men, so it would be the most saintly, heroic, and wise that would be the most deluded of

mortals—the men who in every other respect had led us into the knowledge of all things true and noble and divine. We have only to state such a possibility to reject it. We cannot distrust the intuitions of those whose guidance we have hitherto followed and found divinely good and true, and in whose spiritual insight and faithfulness we can all share in our best and highest moments.

VII

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN

ARGUMENTS AGAINST AND FOR A BLESSED FUTURE LIFE (*continued*)

"If a man die, shall he live again?"—Job xiv. 14.

IN this sermon we return to a discussion of this great subject, in which we shall deal with theories favourable or unfavourable to belief in a blessed immortality. These theories naturally seek to explain the relations of the mind to the soul and body, of which we shall briefly deal with three—Epiphenomenalism, Parallelism, and Interaction. According to the first, nervous changes succeed each other according to the laws of cause and effect, and are attended somehow by states of consciousness, which have no causal connection with each other. According to Parallelism, the states of consciousness and the nervous changes in the brain run parallel to each other, but independently. According to the theory of Interaction—the only valid theory of the experience in question—the mind and body act and react on each other. The mind, so conceived, is not a function of the body, but can subdue it to its own ends. But if this is so, does the mind survive the physical body and maintain its individual and personal character? Science has no *locus standi* here. The question must be discussed on higher grounds, and the general principles of right and wrong must be accepted as valid universally.

The statement that the desire for a future life is merely the

expression of human selfishness, rests on an entire misconception of the nature of this desire.

Having summarized the subjects with which we are to deal this afternoon, we shall now treat our subject in detail.

As far back as the fourth century B.C. in Greece it was argued by Simmias, in the *Phædo* of Plato,[1] that the soul was nothing but a harmony resulting from a combination of the parts of the body, just as the harmony of the lyre is a product of the different parts of the lyre. Destroy the lyre and the harmony perishes with it. This has for ages been the current view of materialism.

In the eighteenth century the French scientist Cabanis summarized it in these words : " The brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile." Such a theory makes the mind absolutely dependent on the body. If this is true, there can, of course, be no future life for man. Modern scientists, it is true, such as Huxley, have rejected this form of materialism. Huxley writes : " How it is that a state of consciousness comes about as the result of irritating nerve tissue, is just as unaccountable as the appearance of the Djin when Aladdin rubbed his lamp." [2] Instead of this crude materialism he brought forward the theory of conscious automatism or Epiphenomenalism, which he claimed to be a form of idealism. But the claim cannot be justified, as it defines consciousness as a function of the brain. Huxley and his confrères did not, it is true, maintain that the chemical changes in the grey matter of the brain were the cause of consciousness and thought, but that consciousness and thought were nevertheless somehow products of such chemical changes in the brain.

[1] *Phædo*, 8 *b*. This view of Simmias is vigorously refuted in 91–95.
[2] *Elementary Physiology*, Lesson 8.

Now this is not the place nor the time for discussing metaphysical theories on the relation of the mind and body—there are nearly a score of such theories—but thoughtful men cannot help considering how scientists propose to connect the nervous changes that take place in the body with the consciousness of the mind, because their theories either admit the persistence of the mind on the destruction of the body or else deny it. The score of theories just mentioned might be described as various forms of Epiphenomenalism, Parallelism, and Interaction. These seek to set forth how it is that the irritation of a nerve in the brain is connected with a thought in the mind.

I. The first theory is that advanced by Huxley, and is called Epiphenomenalism. The meaning of this word will discover itself as we advance. According to this theory, nervous changes in the grey matter of the brain succeed each other according to the laws of cause and effect, every such change being determined by like nervous antecedents. But these nervous changes are attended *somehow* by secondary effects called states of consciousness. Such states of consciousness, however, stand in no causal connection with each other, nor does any state of consciousness react on any nervous change in the brain. On this theory, therefore, all mental changes, that is, all desires, thoughts, purposes, are superfluous and *unnecessary accessories* in human life : they are Epiphenomena—that is, additions not caused by the phenomena or observed facts : they have no influence on life, or facts observed in the living body : they are mere automata, they are no better than puppets which appear and disappear, according to certain nervous changes in the brain. On this theory man is not answerable for his actions. They are the product of a fate which he cannot alter. This theory results in pure fatalism.

II. The second theory is Parallelism. This theory denies that the states of consciousness are the effects of nervous changes in the brain, and maintains that these are two independent but strictly parallel series. Many great thinkers, such as Leibnitz or Spinoza, have advocated this hypothesis. The conscious states do not affect the nervous states of the brain, nor *vice versa* do the nervous states affect the conscious states of what we call mind. But many advocates of this view hold that these two series are only two different sides or aspects of one and the same reality.

This theory is open to many objections, which do not admit of consideration here.

III. We now come to the third and best statement of the relation between the mind and body, and this is the theory of Interaction—that is, that the mind and body act and react on each other.

To prove that there is such interaction between the mind and body, it will be sufficient to state a few of the following established conclusions: (*a*) The body does influence the mind. Thus it has been shown that a certain form of idiocy in children is due to the lack of thyroid secretion. Supply this lack, and the child, that is stupid and all but imbecile, acquires in a short time its due proportion of intelligence and becomes the framer of its own character.

Again, we know that different mental activities are dependent on different parts of the brain. Thus the things we see depend on the soundness of one part of the brain: the things we hear on another part: the things we speak on a third: the more abstract processes of thought on a fourth: whereas if a certain part of the brain is injured, we can see things, but cannot understand their meaning.

From these and many other cognate facts it would seem to follow that the mind is, after all, a function of the body.

Before, therefore, we proceed to point out the influence of the mind on the body, it will be well to demonstrate the impossibility of the view that the mind is a function of the body. Tyndall has expressed the verdict of science in the following vigorous words: "The chasm that lies between brain action and consciousness is impassable." Here is the rock on which materialism must split when it attempts to explain the human personality. The soul or mind is not a function of the body. If it were, the unity of consciousness would be unintelligible. Our thoughts being, on this theory, functions of different parts of the grey matter of the brain, the unity of the act of thought would in that case be simply incomprehensible. Each act of vision, each act of hearing, each act of reflection would stand by itself, and all out of relation to each other.

Again, since the brain is confessedly an aggregate of parts outside each other in space, and since these parts are being renewed every second of our existence, how, if the different activities of the mind are functions of different parts of the brain, *can there be any sense of identity at all*, and, even if this were admitted, *how could such identity be maintained* in the midst of the constant change of the material elements of the brain ?

The theory, therefore, that the mind is in any form a function of the brain is wholly untenable. We are thus obliged to conceive the separate and independent parts of the brain as merely the organs of the mind, which uses them, and can use them so long and only so long as they are usable. There is not a particle of evidence, scientific or philosophical, to prove or even suggest that when the brain perishes, the soul perishes with it.

(*b*) Having now made sufficient acknowledgment of the influence of the body on the mind, we must also recognize

the action of the mind on the body. When the body is overcome by sleep, by swooning, by coma, or catalepsy, the mind's existence is not affected thereby. It lives when the body for limited periods appears to be actually dead. Furthermore, it is to be observed that, *though in the earlier stages of development* the mind is mainly conditioned by the body, in the later stages, when the mind begins to reach maturity, it acquires powers over the body, that were always potentially its own, and a higher form of existence than that of the body and apparently in many respects independent of it. Thus, in proportion as it uses the powers that are essentially its own, it proceeds to dominate the body; it controls its impulses, ignores its pains, triumphs over its weakness; it exerts an unquestionable authority over some of the reflex, autonomous, and involuntary functions of the nervous system of the body; it rises into thoughts, aspirations, and achievements of an ideal nature, which stand in no causal relation to the body, and which, so far as we can discover, are exclusively its own property.

If, then, the mind possesses the power of governing the body and disciplining it to its own ideal ends, it cannot be a function of the body, seeing that it can oppose and reduce the body to a condition of servitude. On the other hand, all these facts become intelligible and admit of a rational explanation, if the soul exists in and for itself, and accordingly possesses activities which are *sui generis* and essentially its own. In the present material world, the soul can only express itself through the body and receive impressions from the material world through the same medium; it is therefore conditioned by the limitations of the present body. But we shall not always be hampered by a body of flesh. The soul will be able to express itself through essentially different and nobler bodies in the life to come.

We have now reached the conclusion that the mind is not a function of the body, but that it can subdue the body to its own ends and pursue a life above and beyond the body in its relation to other finite minds, and above all in its relation to the Supreme Mind.

Hence, at this stage, the question that arises is: If the soul is not a function of the body, does the soul survive the body, and, if so, does it maintain its own individual and personal character, or does it lose its individuality and become merely an element in the Absolute and Infinite? The great religions of India, such as Brahmanism, and Buddhism in its original form, held, as we have already remarked, that the soul lost its individuality and was absorbed into the ocean of infinite Being, if it continued to have any existence at all.

But we are not here concerned with Indian beliefs, nor with the beliefs of this or that people, but with the fundamental principles of human thought, in accordance with which the human mind accepts belief in a future life, not as a matter of demonstration, for that is impossible, but as the only solution of moral and spiritual problems, otherwise inexplicable. In this province science has no claim to speak for or against the hypothesis of a future life. The evidence in its favour belongs to a higher sphere of experience.

In fact, science has nothing definitive to say on either side. It maintains, indeed, that in all its researches it has failed to discover any evidence for the hypothesis of a future life. Change, decay, and death, so far as science can investigate them, seem to declare against it, and the only evidence that seems to tell in its favour are a few obscure analogies, such as are suggested by the survival of life in plants and animals.

But such evidence, science rightly maintains, is valueless for the hypothesis before us; for in such cases we have

to do, not with the continuance of the same individual, plant or animal, but only with the reproduction of other members of the same species or genus. But, when science draws any conclusions from such evidence, it only emphasizes its incompetence in this province. For, as it cannot be too strongly emphasized, materialism has failed absolutely to explain certain facts of everyday human experience, such as self-consciousness and self-identity, thought, will, love, veneration. Huxley, despite his theory of Epiphenomenalism, felt keenly the helplessness of science in this respect, and wrote as follows : " If the belief in immortality is essential to morality, physical science has no more to say against the probability of that doctrine than the most ordinary experience has, and it effectually closes the mouths of those who pretend to refute it by objections deduced from merely physical data." And still more recently a distinguished American evolutionist, Professor Fiske, has arraigned the hypothesis that death ends all " as perhaps the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy."

Hence we return to the question : Does the soul, whose co-existence with the body in this life we naturally admit, survive the dissolution of the body ?

But before we consider this question and the objections which are adduced from many quarters against the survival of the soul, we must come to some kind of agreement as to whether the general principles of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong, are valid universally—that is, not only in this world but in all worlds. For it has been contended by certain writers that we cannot argue from our own conceptions of right and wrong to those of God : that the goodness of the creature is one thing, and the goodness of the Creator quite another. Accordingly, conduct that would

be wrong for us might be equitable for Him, and actions that from the standpoint of our moral principles could not be designated as other than infamous, might, if regarded from the standpoint of God, be good and perfect; for that the Infinite cannot be comprehended by the finite. If this argument is valid, then it follows that, so far as we can judge, the goodness of God is not affected by anything that He does, because our ideas of right and wrong are not applicable to God. Mill denounces rightly this hypothesis, and declares that, if he were required to believe that the world was governed by a Being, whose principles of government the highest human morality could not sanction, he would flatly refuse to do so.

"I will," he writes, "call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go."

Surely no one in the universe has been so misrepresented as God Himself, and that by His own worshippers, by Christian philosophers, and theologians. It is strange to find a non-Christian philosopher entering the lists on behalf of the absolute truth and goodness of God over against such misrepresentations. And yet this is exactly what occurred when John Stuart Mill denounced the immoral character of this doctrine as propounded by Dr. Mansel, Dean of St. Paul's, in dependence on Sir William Hamilton's *Philosophy of the Unconditioned.*

But the arguments that attempt to prove, that what is the highest good in man's eyes may be evil in God's, and that what is the most wicked thing in man's eyes may be good before God, are not valid. By prefixing the epithet "infinite" to a thing, we do not change its nature, but only define its scope. If we set over against each other finite

and infinite space, we do not thereby assert that there are two kinds of space differing in essence, but that one is space with certain limits, while the other is space without limits. Similarly when we compare human and divine goodness, we do not imply that there are two kinds of goodness, but only that the goodness that exists in us in a finite degree, exists in God in an infinite. Hence we conclude that infinite space and infinite goodness are not things incomprehensible. So far as infinite space is space, it is known to us, and so far as infinite goodness is goodness, it also is known to us. The standard of goodness which God has established in the heart of man is valid throughout the universe. By this standard man can rightly judge the goodness of God. "Shall not," as we read in the Old Testament—"shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" But if, on the other hand, we maintain that God's justice and goodness and love may be different in kind from man's, this is in effect a statement that from man's standpoint God is neither just, nor good, nor loving. We conclude, therefore, that, when we state that what is right and wrong here is right and wrong everywhere, we are not outstepping our legitimate province. It is true that in particular cases we do defer to wise friends, because we believe that their judgment in such cases is better and wiser than our own; but, if we came to learn that our friends' standards of right were our standards of wrong, we should indignantly refuse such deference. It is just because we observe the same standards that we gladly bow to the guidance of men we revere, and immeasurably beyond that of all men that we bow to what we learn is true and good in the sight of God.

But if, instead of a Divine Being combining in an infinite degree all the excellences conceivable by the human mind, there exists a Being whose attributes are indeed infinite

but in the main unknowable, and, so far as they are knowable, are such as to call forth the reprobation even of ordinary good men, not to speak of the best, then we must face our fate, we must dree our weird as best we may; for we cannot stoop to call such a Being good, nor can we bend the knee to One whose conduct we cannot do other than condemn. It would be sheer blasphemy to attribute to God practices that would be reprehensible in any good man.

We must therefore judge the works of God by the standards that God Himself and none other has implanted in the human heart.

But even when this claim is conceded, as conceded it must be, if the question is to be discussed at all, certain objections are brought against the justice and the morality of the doctrine of personal immortality in itself.

i. The first of these is that the desire for a future life is merely the barren expression of human selfishness. I have already quoted Huxley's denial of this statement. In his *Map of Life* (xvii) Lecky practically takes the same view. Thus he emphasizes "the incapacity of earth and earthly things to satisfy our cravings and ideals; the instinctive revolt of human nature against the idea of annihilation, and its capacities for affections and attainments, which seem by their intensity to transcend the limits of earth and in moments of bereavement to carry with them the persuasion or conviction of something that endures beyond the grave."

But turning aside from individual suffrages on this question, we may concede that those who condemn the desire for immortality as the expression of a barren selfishness may trace it back to the spirit that inspired our prehistoric ancestors, when right was might and life was a ceaseless warfare, in which only the fittest, that is, only the strongest,

survived. But the desire for another and higher life is not of the same ethical quality as the primitive desire for further life in this world. For when a true personality is realized, it proceeds to reverse the primitive law of selfishness ; for it is only by the reversal of this law that any future progress can be made, as Huxley admits in his Romanes Lecture. Such a higher conception comes to be recognized and acted upon, when man makes spiritual progress and comes to the realization of his higher self, and when he does so, he feels himself bound to make full recognition of the claims of others, and even to sacrifice not only his own just claims, but even his very existence on their behalf. Such a desire for the higher life becomes increasingly pure, unbought and chivalrous. It is not a matter of prudence and calculation : it does not seek for eternal and unlimited returns in another world for a limited investment of its time and means in this. When it does seek rewards, it seeks them in its own kind, and from these the element of selfishness is absent. There is no selfishness in the scholar's desire of knowledge in and for itself in ever larger and fuller measure ; there is no selfishness in the artist's quest of the beautiful in nature or in imagination ; and still less is there any selfishness in the desires and affections of men which have for their aim God's ends and not their own both here and hereafter. Thus the desire for immortality in its purest form is free from every characteristic of selfishness ; for it is the desire not only that all the bravest, truest and best, the purest, noblest and most disinterested, shall survive this life and attain to immeasurably higher degrees of excellence in the world to come : it is not only this, but it is the inextinguishable longing that even the most imperfect, the most fallible and the most sinful amongst us may be so disciplined and cleansed as to reach like heights with their brethren in the school of God, a school

which embraces not only this passing age but the endless ages of eternity.

ii. But though it be conceded that there is no selfishness in a right desire for personal immortality, it has been further objected that God is under no obligation to give us this immortality. But the counter-argument at once suggests itself. If it is true that God is under no obligation to give man immortality, neither is God under any obligation to deceive man by awaking in him the desire for immortality, and by endowing him with desires and capacities that involve the assumption of immortality, if they are to be realized at all.

Such an objection plainly asserts that God can deal with man as He pleases ; that there is no reciprocity of moral obligation between God and man ; that to God belong all the rights, to man all the duties : man must fulfil his moral obligations to God ; but God is under no obligation of any kind to man ; nor are there in God any uncovenanted mercies, to which the heart of man may with any reasonable hope make its appeal.

But, as we are rational beings, we must maintain the contrary. If God has created man, He has certainly incurred the responsibility of being man's Providence. If, further, as our reason teaches us, He has not only created man, but created him in His own image, then, by virtue of the spiritual nature with which He has endowed him, it follows that God's obligations to man are infinitely graver and greater than are man's obligations to God. God is responsible for man's being—for his heredity, his environment, his desires, his aspirations after truth and goodness, his yearnings after a perfection no less than that of God Himself. In this responsibility man, of course, must take his share or face the consequences. Nevertheless, the fact that God has

created man carries with it an infinite responsibility. If God possesses immeasurable rights over man, no less immeasurable are God's obligations to man. We conclude, therefore, that God is bound by a Divine necessity to respect the hopes and longings which He has Himself created in man. Otherwise His moral nature would be lower than that of man.

iii. Again it is urged that the extinction of the individual may be a necessary step to the attainment of some higher end, such as the perfectionment of the race. But the rejoinder simply is that there is no such end; for, if God is good, He cannot deal with the individual or the entire human race in a way that could not do other than call forth the reprobation of the conscience and reason He has Himself implanted in man.

Since, as we have already argued, we cannot recognize two essentially conflicting forms of goodness and truth, no more can we admit that there is any higher end for man than an endless development in truth and goodness and love. In this development the well-being of the individual and the well-being of the society, of which he is a member, are essentially united together and cannot be realized apart. But if there is no other life, if we are created only to be annihilated, then our Creator is either immoral, or weak: immoral in that He has been untrue to the moral obligations which He has taught man to believe are valid and everlasting; or weak, because, though He desires to fulfil those obligations, He has not the power to do so.

We conclude, then, that this presumed higher end cannot consist in our extinction; for the moral character of God and the moral perfectionment of man alike postulate man's personal immortality.

Further, so far is the progress of the race from re-

quiring the extinction of the individual that such progress postulates his preservation. For the perfectionment of the race depends on the perfectionment of the individual. But the moral perfectionment of the individual is unattainable in this life. The physical laws of nature have a perfection of their own, but the moral laws, so far as actual realization goes, are as yet only in a rudimentary stage. We live in a world where truth and error, good and evil, are continually at strife. We see what appears to be an infinite waste in the world of moral and spiritual beings. For even where moral progress is made, how slight is this progress in the short space of threescore years and ten! Life has hardly won some fresh height and some higher vision of its ideals, when it is cut off and is no more seen. Now can we imagine that the countless myriads of the past were created solely that the present generation might make a few steps forward in the march of human progress, and then in its turn, vanishing into nothingness, make room for the coming generations, which in their turn must steadily and everlastingly move onwards to annihilation.

But the answer to such speculations is simply this: if God is perfect, the *moral and spiritual* laws will reach their perfectionment in man, no less surely than the *physical* laws have already done in nature; and so the perfectionment of the individual soul is assured in the world to come, if the soul makes such perfectionment its chief aim. God has not engrafted in man the sense of justice, goodness, and love, and prescribed them as the laws of man's being, in order to violate them deliberately and persistently from age to age in all His dealings and with all His children.

VIII

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN

ARGUMENTS AGAINST AND FOR A BLESSED FUTURE LIFE (*continued*)

"If a man die, shall he live again?"—Job xiv. 14.

IN the preceding sermon we have dealt with some of the preliminary difficulties connected with the conception of a future life. We came to the following conclusions amongst others: that the soul or mind is not a function of the body, but exists in some degree independently of it; but that, apart from ethical and spiritual grounds, we could not infer its continuance beyond this life.

We discussed also the hypothesis that our ideas of justice and truth, goodness and love, are only relative to man and are not valid in all worlds. We rejected this hypothesis absolutely. We must judge God by the standards which He has implanted in the human heart. Otherwise we could neither worship Him nor approve principles of conduct in Him that we must reprobate in our neighbour; nor, as we shall see later, could we do otherwise than denounce the world as irrational. Next we discussed the objection that the desire for personal immortality is human selfishness projected into eternity, and came to the conclusion that this desire, rightly conceived and pursued, was not open to this charge. In fact, we found that true progress is impossible, even in this world, unless the selfish instincts are overcome, and that, the more fully the true personality emerges, the

more thoroughly it repudiates and renders null and void the primitive law of selfishness.

Finally we considered the plea that the progress of the race may necessitate the extinction of its individual members. But we concluded that this argument could not be maintained. For if the race is to reach its perfectionment here or hereafter, it can only do so by the perfectionment of its individual members, a perfectionment that is wholly unattainable in this life.[1]

Having summarized some of the conclusions arrived at in the preceding sermons, we shall now examine the question whether there are some reasonable grounds for belief in the immortality of the soul.

The immortality which we have been discussing is a personal immortality such as is conceived in the New Testament.[2]

[1] Cf. Pringle-Pattison, *Idea of Immortality*, p. 196: "Personality or selfhood is not anything that can be conferred by another, it is emphatically something that must be won before there can be any question of its conservation. What is given is simply opportunity. A true self comes into being as the result of continuous effort, and the same effort is needed to hold it together and ensure its maintenance; for the danger of disintegration is always present."

[2] Plato, no doubt, regarded the soul as a complete personality. In the New Testament the soul, apart from the body, of whatever nature that body may be, is regarded as a mutilated or incomplete personality. The body is the organ by which the soul expresses itself or receives impressions. Pringle-Pattison (*Idea of Immortality*, p. 71) advances the view that "the organism in commerce with the environment is the medium in which the soul comes into being; and because the organism is a natural body derived from the parents, there are represented in its spiritual product all the influences summarized under the head of heredity." Hence on p. 102 he writes: "The body is in this sense the medium through which the soul comes into existence, so that we might almost speak . . . of the body growing a soul, although acknowledging in the same breath that the genesis of consciousness in connexion with organic processes is something which it is ridiculous to suppose we could ever understand." On p. 70 he says: "The soul, it has sometimes been said, weaves itself a body . . . we might rather say the body grows itself a soul." But to this we rejoin: unless we assume that the Divine Spirit is all the time active in His own creation it is hard to understand that "the body grows itself a soul."

Such immortality connotes not only self-consciousness but self-determination in all the manifold relations in which man stands to God and his neighbour, and especially the complete realization of his personality through such relations, alike in this world and the world to come.

If such a conception of immortality is true, there must be some intimations and grounds in human experience to support it. We might at the outset ask : If God has created self-conscious beings and endowed them with thought and will and love like His own, why should they not endure as long as the Source from which they spring ? This question is not unreasonable. But some thinkers rejoin that whatever has had a beginning must in due course have an end. In some forms of organic life, where life consists of a series of chemical and physiological changes, birth is the invariable forerunner of death, but no such logical necessity can be established in the mechanical or rational worlds. A particle once set in motion in empty space will, according to Newton's law, move with a uniform velocity for ever, unless checked by some force from without. *A fortiori* we reason that there is no limit set to the life of the soul, seeing that it is endued *potentially* with the divine attributes of thought and volition, goodness and love. When the soul wields such spiritual powers and wields them aright, it is essential that, though its development postulates time in which such development can be achieved, it is not affected by time, save that it gains or can gain fresh increments of strength and capacity, vitality and joy, as it grows with the growth of time. In respect of the soul and its destinies, the natural conclusion is that only the soul itself can bring about its own annihilation. Man would appear to have been designed to inherit eternal life, but to attain this end he must co-operate with God, through whom alone

this attainment is possible. But it seems possible that man may defeat the purpose of God, may turn his back on the light, and so become the author of his own annihilation.

In the next place, the fact that there exists a due proportion between an organ and its function, between the endowment of a nature and its range of life and achievement, furnishes an argument in favour of a future life. Now the lower animal instincts and appetites minister to certain definite ends, namely, self-preservation and self-reproduction. Their sole design is to maintain the individual organism and its kind. There is not one of them that does not subserve these ends. Naturally, when the body dies, these instincts and powers that ministered merely to the preservation of the body die with it. Their entire *raison d'être* has ceased to be.

But when we pass to the consideration of higher things than the merely animal instincts and appetites, we observe that when new species are evolved with distinctive features, the important factor in these features is that they serve a purpose. Such features survive and grow, just because they serve a purpose. When such utility ceases to exist, either the particular features or the species as a whole disappears. We cannot too strongly emphasize the fact that in the evolution of special characteristics in animals *utility for a purpose* is the essential factor.

Now man shares the powers and appetites which belong to the lower animals. But, though he shares these with the lower animals, he has risen above them, and is essentially distinguished from them by his intellectual, moral, and spiritual endowments, which endowments in their turn, if the world is rational, *should* be useful for certain purposes. These distinctive characteristics do not subserve any purely

physical purpose. Their ends are intellectual, moral, and spiritual.[1]

Of the higher sentiments, therefore, such as wonder, which leads to science, admiration to art, and reverence to religion, we can give no real interpretation, we cannot explain them, if their action is limited wholly to this life. But if these *higher* human powers have a purpose, as demonstrably man's *lower* human powers have, and if they are designed to realize that purpose *in its completeness* as the lower endowments do, then we cannot evade the conclusion that they postulate for their development a larger sphere than this world, and a period of time as immeasurable as time itself. That this postulate will be satisfied to the full sometime and somewhere for mankind as a whole, it is therefore reasonable to conclude, if the universe is rational. If, on the other hand, the universe is not rational, there is no ground for supposing that any postulate of the reason will be fulfilled to the full either here or hereafter.

For the assumption that the world is rational no demonstrative proof can be given; for this assumption lies at the basis of all reasoning. Without it, progress is impossible. But, if we act upon it, it receives fresh verification with every advance we make in obedience to the requirements of our rational powers. Belief in the rational character of the world thus ultimately springs from belief in God, and likewise in man's immortality, if man is to fulfil the ends of his being.

But let us deal with the same facts from a somewhat

[1] In a lecture delivered by Professor Eddington (*The Times*, May 22, 1929) the lecturer states that the essential differences, which we met on entering the realm of spirit and mind, hung round the word "ought." In the physical world what a body did and what a body ought to do were equivalent; but we were well aware of another domain where they were anything but equivalent.

different standpoint. When we take account of man's distinctive faculties, we observe that not only is man less perfect and less adapted to his moral and *spiritual environment* than the lower animals are to their *material environment*, but also that, in relation to himself, *man's higher faculties are far less developed and far less perfect than his lower*. Whilst the animal races fall little short of perfection in a suitable environment, strive as he will, man continues always imperfect; and whereas the animal instincts and powers attain to ripeness and maturity and to the mastery of their ends, man's highest powers are still rudimentary, and constantly fail to reach the ends for which they were apparently designed. God's ends in relation to men are, it is true, indicated, but they are not attained. Hence, though God has succeeded in His purposes in the lower creation, He has failed so far in the higher, and the higher creation can never reach its fulfilment, unless there is another world, in which God's purposes can attain to realization, a new world which would more than redress the evils of the old, and more than fulfil the best expectations of the best men at their best.

If man were purely a creature of this world, as materialism asserts, it would be reasonable to conclude that he would be content with his environment in this world and with the satisfaction of his finite desires. But God has constructed man on such a scale and with such potentialities of spiritual and intellectual achievement, that his development demands more than this world can ever give, hampered as it is by limitations in every direction. Even man's limited ideals are always condemning his highest actual achievement. Moreover, should it be possible for some far-off generation to realize perfection on this present earth, the conclusion would still be inevitable that this world as a whole would

be an appalling failure for all the intervening generations. At the best it would only postpone the day that must issue in inevitable doom, when either humanity would be wiped out in a moment, or else, slowly and with full consciousness of its growing degradation, revert to a savagery and brutishness which would infinitely transcend the worst evils that marked its ascent. Truth and equity, knowledge and love —in fact, all its age-long acquisitions of the higher sort would gradually vanish, and the struggle for mere survival would resume its sway, till the last of our race would perish amid the unimaginable horrors of a dying world.

But we cannot entertain such a theory. If the universe makes the attainment of perfection its goal—even in some far-distant age — *it thereby recognizes the moral law*; for only by the knowledge and fulfilment of this law is perfection attainable. The universe has, therefore, created the moral law in man, and this law, if it implies anything, implies first and above all that neither this nor any other generation will be used merely as a means for the aggrandizement of some future generation, and then having served its purpose be rejected as a waste product in the merciless onward march of what, in this case, would be a non-moral or unconscious universe, but that each and every member of every generation will be treated as an end in itself.

But why, it has been rejoined, is it necessary to presuppose that man must realize his highest powers, seeing that the analogies of nature do not support any such presupposition? There is, it is asserted, an infinite waste in the vegetable and animal worlds, and, if such waste in the lower orders of life is consistent with the rational character of the universe, why should a kindred waste of man's highest powers be inconsistent with it? This thought has been

wedded to immortal verse in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (sections lv.–lvi.):

LV

"The wish, that of the living whole
No life may fail beyond the grave,
Derives it not from that we have
The likest God within the soul?

Are God and Nature then at strife,
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life;

That I, considering everywhere
Her secret meaning in her deeds,
And finding that of fifty seeds
She often brings but one to bear,

I falter where I firmly trod,
And falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God,

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope.

LVI

"'So careful of the type?' but no.
From scarped cliff and quarried stone
She cries, 'A thousand types are gone:
I care for nothing, all shall go.

'Thou makest thine appeal to me:
I bring to life, I bring to death:
The spirit does but mean the breath:
I know no more.' And he, shall he,

Man, her last work, who seem'd so fair,
  Such splendid purpose in his eyes,
  Who roll'd the psalm to wintry skies,
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,

Who trusted God was love indeed
  And love Creation's final law—
  Tho' Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shriek'd against his creed—

Who loved, who suffer'd countless ills,
  Who battled for the True, the Just,
  Be blown about the desert dust,
Or seal'd within the iron hills ?

No more ? A monster then, a dream,
  A discord. Dragons of the prime,
  That tare each other in their slime,
Were mellow music match'd with him.

O life as futile, then, as frail !
  O for thy voice to soothe and bless !
  What hope of answer, or redress ?
Behind the veil, behind the veil."

Now let us concede for a moment that these fearsome analogies are valid. Let us suppose that there is a waste alike of man's higher and lower powers. Notwithstanding, even though we make this concession, we cannot overlook the fact that the nature of this waste is in the one case physical, in the other intellectual, moral, and spiritual. In point of value, these two sets of powers are incommensurable. Truth and goodness, humility and reason, faith and love, are the things that differentiate man from the lower creation and give to human life its real and supreme value. For of this we are assured, that though all the material goods of life were weighed against them, they would kick the beam. If we have a right to hold any conviction, it is the conviction

that all things else, when compared with these, are less than vanity itself, and that though all things else may perish, these shall abide for ever more.

But the analogies suggested in Tennyson's lines between the lower and higher orders of creation are not valid, as we have for the moment assumed: in fact, they have no basis whatever in reality. When death takes place in the lower animals, there is no physical waste—no physical waste, observe: there is only a change of form in the various elements of which the body is composed, a transformation of one set of elements into another. The organic compounds of oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, and nitrogen, that were united in the body, now enter into fresh combinations, and the sum-total of the energies thus set free for action remains wholly unaffected. There is thus a conservation of all the physical forces. And that the bond that holds the physical forces together, and which we call "life," goes back into the Fount of Being, there is no means of disproving. Thus nothing appears to be lost in the case of such lower creatures as have not attained to personality. But mark well the contrast in regard to man's spiritual powers. When man dies, his spiritual powers are not transformed into any other forms of energy; they simply vanish into nothingness: there is no conservation of man's highest powers; they perish with the self-conscious personalities which created them, if it is true that personalities do perish.

There is, therefore, even on this hypothesis, no analogy between the lower orders of nature and the higher orders of man. For of the lower orders of creation, when death ensues, nothing is lost. There is only a transformation of one set of elements into another, with the return of the lower forms of life into the Fount of the Being which bound them into a unity. But, when man dies, all his noblest and best

powers die with him and leave no equivalent of any sort behind. For human truth and loyalty, human purity and love, are the merest abstractions apart from the personalities in whom they came to birth and in whom they survive and grow: and in whom they die, if it is true that man dies absolutely.

But, even if we did admit that the values achieved by good personalities could persist eternally and independently of the personalities that gave them being, the inherent irrationality of such a world would be no less obvious. For the values so persisting could not but share in the imperfections of their authors, and thus there would be a double and irreparable loss; for "impersonal" values, if such values were conceivable or possible, would in themselves be for ever imperfect, and the personalities themselves would be cut off, just when they were giving promise of the more perfect values within their range in the ages of eternity. Furthermore, the individual, if he is growing intellectually, ethically, and spiritually, is always more than the entire sum of his acts. At the best these acts are, in an infinitesimal measure, but an earnest of what he could achieve in the world to come, with its illimitable environment and its eternal years.

The analogies of nature, therefore, destroying alike the individual and the type, are neither applicable to humanity nor true. The very things that have attained their perfectionment in the physical stages of evolution, are wholly without a like parallel in the rational and spiritual stages of the evolution of man.

IX

THE RESURRECTION OF MAN

ARGUMENTS AGAINST AND FOR A BLESSED FUTURE LIFE (*continued*)

"If a man die, shall he live again?"—Job xiv. 14.

WE have already emphasized the fact that on the whole a just proportion exists *in the lower creation between the powers of an animal and its range of life and achievement.* And since this proportion does exist in the lower creation we naturally ask, Does it not also exist in the higher creation? If the lower powers imply a short and limited existence, do the higher and spiritual powers imply a spiritual and unlimited existence? If creation proceeds on rational lines, the natural inference is that they do. But if this inference is wrong, we must forthwith ask: Is the mind of man then so constituted as we should expect? Is it constructed to meet the demands of the limited span of threescore years and ten, or is it not rather constructed to meet the demands of a life of unlimited duration? If a man's entire existence is limited to threescore years and ten, then his intellectual powers are out of all proportion to his needs. How can we bring into any reasonable correlation such an ephemeral creature as man and the mind with which he is equipped, the mind which, on the one hand, can bring within its ken a million of rushing worlds, and on the other delve into the mysteries of the universe of atoms, and find each atom to be a universe in itself? Mark well the

irony of man's lot. He is endowed with an intellect tnat is an enormous over-provision for a being whose years are but a span, and yet is not granted the time needed to use these powers and to resolve the problems with which he is confronted, and which, nevertheless, he feels to be essentially his own. To resolve these cannot but be his aspiration, but it needs an eternity for the task, as well as a continuous development of all his powers. Again : if intellectual and spiritual progress is the end of the universe, there could be nothing so fatal to such progress as the extinction of good and great intelligences. Their acquisitions, their skill, their insight, their goodness, cannot be transmitted like instincts to their successors. These powers are purely personal, and form the indispensable factors needed for the infinite progress of the race as well as for the infinite progress of the individual.

But, if the mind perishes, the hope of ultimate perfection must likewise perish. The problem appears, therefore, to be beyond the reach of our reason. Minds cannot be utilized as mere means for collective ends, since each embraces in itself its own end. So far as the mind realizes this end, it falls into harmony with other like minds, and, if it persists, is ever helping to carry other minds with it to the goal of all. If this is *not* so, then the purposes of the Infinite Mind reach their fulfilment in the perpetual blasting of all that is noblest and also all that is of infinite promise in the beings He has created.

What we have said as regards the enormous over-provision of intellect in man, if man's life is limited to this world, holds just as truly of the over-provision of love in man. Man is endowed with measures of love far outreaching his utmost needs, if he is merely a creature of time. The parental affections, which appear during a limited period in the lower animals also, can be justly described as necessary for certain passing emergencies in the life of such

lower animals. We know that the parental affections in the lower animals cease to exist when their young cease to need them. But in the case of man, this is not so; for these affections in man grow stronger and stronger till they indefinitely—shall we say immeasurably—transcend the needs that called them forth. Neither time nor death can extinguish the love of the parent for the child, or of the child for the parent. The love of husband and wife comes under the same category. When wedded life is adequately realized, it forms perhaps the noblest expression of life conceivable on earth. But such love, with which we may correlate the attachments of friend and friend in the higher ranges of thought and character, is sheer waste, if such love and friendship fail to find their fulfilment in a larger and endless life.

The range and intensity of the intellect and affections thus appear to be such as can find no scope for their complete exercise in a merely finite life. In fact, human life, if it is limited to this world, is endowed with an over-provision of faculty in both directions. From the consciousness, explicit or implicit, that the intellectual faculties and affections of man are greater than his present life requires, has arisen in no small measure the belief in immortality. The fact that *this belief is practically universal* serves in some degree to confirm the arguments advanced on other grounds, though the confirmation so given is at its best cumulative. The arguments derived from the over-provision of intellectual faculties and affections are based on firmer grounds.

But, since there always attaches a sense of insecurity to arguments of this nature, the essential value of which is simply one of degree, we pass onward to the sphere of conscience, which has been called the voice of God within us. When we are torn in different directions by conflicting impulses, the conscience, unless perverted, speaks with no

uncertain note, and determines without hesitation their respective values. We can in reality cherish no doubt that its decrees are binding, and that we can, because we ought. If this power of the conscience to choose the right and to reject the wrong led to no transformation of the character in this world nor to a difference in destiny hereafter, according as we were obedient or disobedient to its commands; if the actors on life's stage vanished into nothingness, when the curtain was rung down and the play over, such a finale would run counter to our consciousness of right and of moral freedom; and if our supposed divine relationship to God were but a vain pretension, a meaningless and cruel delusion, then the temporal event which we call death would in every case put an end to the growing personality, and that just when it was giving promise of indefinite powers of growth in the province of things intellectual, moral, and spiritual.

We cannot, therefore, believe that conscience will never attain to its moral supremacy, that its decisions will always be set at naught, and that no difference will be made between those who obey its decrees and those who flout them. Rather we must conclude that the conscience is the creation of God's Spirit in co-operation with the spiritual element in man, and that man is in the school of God. The present stage, indeed, of man's moral progress is but rudimentary. If man is potentially the noblest work of God, he is also the most imperfect; but, since the soul's aspirations towards truth and goodness, and towards communion with God, are God's own creation no less than the soul itself, they must ultimately reach fulfilment. Personal immortality is thus the necessary postulate of our moral and spiritual nature. In making such a postulate, we are not acting arbitrarily; for such a postulate is necessary, if we are to reconcile the facts of our experience with the postulates of the moral con-

sciousness. We have to make analogous postulates in the fields of science and philosophy. Thus the scientist has to postulate that the uniformities discovered in nature in the past will hold good in the future, and the philosopher in his attempt to discover the reason, the why, and the wherefore of things, must likewise postulate the rationality of the universe as a whole. As regards the former—man's moral nature—Kant declares that it requires an eternity for the perfect realization of the moral law, and accordingly he advances the endlessness of this process as an argument for the immortality of the soul.

Since this conclusion of Kant is widely contested and yet appears to contain an essential basis of truth, I will quote Kant's own words. "This endless progress," he writes, "is only possible on the supposition of an endless duration of the existence and personality of the same rational being (which is called the immortality of the soul). The *summum bonum* then practically is only possible on the supposition of the immortality of the soul; consequently this immortality being inseparably connected with the moral law is a postulate of pure practical reason." [1]

But since, with every act of choice, man is ever entering into fresh consequences of his actions, and since the conscience is at once the legislator, the judge, and the executive in one, it is not infrequently urged that there is no need for a future life, and that the claim of exact retribution in a

[1] *Theory of Ethics*[2], pp. 317–38 (translated by Abbott), 1879. The general objection made to Kant's argument, is that it would seem to lead to a final and static perfection of the spirit, when naturally the moral struggle would come to an end. But this struggle can never come to an end. With every fresh moral achievement there dawns on the spirit a still higher ideal, and so effort can never cease and both thought and character never fail to grow in every possible and right direction in the eternal kingdom of God.

future life is wholly irrelevant, seeing that the claims of the conscience meet with full satisfaction in the present spiritual experience of man. Thus Pfleiderer writes: "The requirement of a precise correspondence between the merit of the individual and his lot rests on moral and metaphysical assumptions, from which the higher religious view of the world enables us to emerge, by leading us to discern in the inward blessedness of peace with God the highest, and incomparably most precious good, beside which all external good and evil sink to superfluous appendages. . . . (A man) will therefore have no ground for complaint or for claiming future compensation; and none either for envying the wicked their external prosperity and invoking on them future retribution, inasmuch as he knows them to be already sufficiently punished in the present unhappiness (which is) due to their own wickedness." [1]

So Pfleiderer writes, and his statement is not unjustifiable, if the future life is conceived *merely as a means of providing compensation* for the wrongs and injustices of the present. Modern thought justly regards with abhorrence the idea that the future life is to be regarded purely as a reward for virtuous and godly living, and that right conduct should be pursued here because it will be profitable there. But the claim to a future life is not based on these selfish and irreligious motives, nor has it any direct reference to the sphere of merely outward things. Its main concern is not with the *outward* recompenses of the righteous and the wicked, but with their *inward* experiences.[2]

[1] Quoted by Martineau, *A Study of Religion*, ii. 384. The present writer has rendered differently the last few words.

[2] Such experiences are the result of the immanent principle of justice in man, and are not in any sense dependent on the human will. The virtuous man cannot help gaining the best, and the vicious cannot help losing it—sooner or later.

Hence it is easy to expose the fallacy of such an objection to immortality as that just quoted. The contention that the righteous and the wicked receive their full due in this life is false with regard to both classes. As regards the righteous, the inward experiences of the best men are obviously imperfect and unsatisfying even at their best; and for this reason, as we have just seen, we are obliged to postulate the soul's immortality. The higher the attainment of the faithful, the more sensible they become of what is still beyond them; and though none may have less reason than they for self-reproach, yet by none in the secrecy of the closet are contrition and self-humiliation voiced in such agonizing terms. In this world the satisfactions of the conscience are seldom the guerdon of those who deserve them most. In fact, it is to their very goodness that the good owe their increased sensibility to, and share in, the sufferings of the world, just as it is to their actual wrong-doings that the wrong-doers so frequently owe their insensibility to, and exemption from, the sufferings that attend upon such wrong-doings.

It is not true that the wrong-doer is sufficiently punished in this world by his present unhappiness. So far, indeed, is this from being the case, that it is, as a rule, the greatest offender against conscience that enjoys the greatest immunity from its reproaches. It is, indeed, one of the worst penalties of wrong-doing, that the more deeply a man offends against the moral law, the more unconscious he tends to become of his guilt;[1] for every declension in character metes out its

[1] Cf. Plato, *Theætetus*, 176: "The true penalty of wrong-doing is one that cannot be escaped. There are two patterns set before them in nature: the one blessed and divine, the other godless and wretched; and they do not see, in their utter folly and infatuation, that they are growing like the one and unlike the other, by reason of their evil deeds; and the penalty is, that they lead a life answering to the pattern which they resemble" (translated by Jowett).

own anæsthetic, as every advance in character deepens spiritual susceptibility and insight: and so there is none so unconscious as the offender himself of the blunting of his moral sensibilities, of the death of his generous affections, of the weakening and debasement of his will, and of the steady growth of vicious tendency over the whole field of character. Recognizing these faults wholly or in part, all nations, communities, and families, whether Christian or heathen, civilized or barbarian, have been forced to intervene with supplementary punishments, in order to turn unconscious wrong-doing into conscious transgression and shame. And yet legislate and punish as it may, the justest nation in the world must recognize the inadequacy with which justice in its essential sense is administered; for, however elaborate its machinery for punishing the offender may be, it cannot claim to have redressed its gravest shortcomings in more than an infinitesimal degree. From this it follows that, if this world were the be-all and the end-all in the universe, it would in many essential respects be a kind of moral nightmare. Thus the need of another world to redress the inequalities of the present world is practically confessed by humanity at large, and this need forms the ground for the expectation, that the future life shall have a judicial character that shall transcend and fulfil the broken promises of the present, and shall bring into ultimate harmony man's character and man's condition: shall set men face to face with themselves, shall strip them of their resources—old as time itself—for shirking contrition and evading the divine disquiet that should attend on wrong-doing, and make once and for all impossible the idle pretences with which they are here wont to excuse their neglected duties or palliate their unexercised compassions.

Only novices in the spiritual life can indulge in the

luxury of an approving conscience. The more dutiful and progressive men grow in the spiritual life, the deeper is the insight they gain into the claims of truth and goodness, and the more closely they approximate to the spirit which actuated St. Paul, when in the fuller vision of God he declared that he was " the chief of sinners."

Hence, the more men recognize the right of conscience to make its pronouncements on justice, human conduct, and character, the more convinced they become of the inadequacy of this life. The best men have always felt it most keenly. Their struggle to realize their spiritual and moral ideals never comes to a close in the consciousness of full and final attainment. Haunted by the sense of their bitter shortcomings, they look perforce for another life, wherein to win the spiritual heights they have failed to reach here. It is not a selfish end they are pursuing ; for if God willed it so, they would not refuse to sacrifice their own personal existence here and hereafter for their brethren. But, if this is so, mark well the result at which we arrive. For, if even a small minority of heroic and saintly souls were willing to incur such a sacrifice, and if the God who had created and inspired them with such disinterestedness and self-renunciation were, notwithstanding, willing to consign them as well as the entire race to the rubbish-heaps of time, then the conclusion is inevitable that such men would herein be more true and righteous than their Maker.

And yet in attaining such moral heights such men would at least have lived in the highest sense of the word, even if there was no hereafter. But what of the vast majority of mankind who, friendless or poor here, have passed their lives in wretchedness and despair, who from the cradle to the grave have been the victims of intolerable wrong, and been wholly unable to extricate themselves from

vice and degradation? To say that this life has for them been a state of probation, is obviously untrue. If for these this life were all, would it not then be a most unjust and immoral world? Would not God be less righteous than the men He had created? It is, therefore, natural that it is not to the weaklings but to the greatest men of our race that we owe the assertion and maintenance of the belief in immortality. Zoroaster, Plato, even the later Buddhists, Cicero and Plutarch—not to speak of the later Hebrew sages—enforced it. In the present day most of the Western nations believe in it. Tennyson and Browning both maintained it in the strongest terms, and even such dissimilar men as Kant, Emerson, and Renan, not to speak of hosts of others.

But the fact must not be ignored that some writers in the present and earlier days have questioned the right of man to make any claim to a blessed immortality.

Our moral judgments are, it is said, wholly independent of any belief as to the future of the soul. Nay, more, it is urged, that, if human goodness terminated always in pain, and if evil-doing terminated always in happiness, the distinctions of good and evil would still remain unaffected. This is conceivably true. The actual existence of moral values would not be affected by man's adverse and contradictory experiences, but man would then conclude that Manichæism was true, and that the evil Creator was stronger than the good, or that, if there was only one God, He was neither true nor good. But, if these moral values are absolute and eternal and God is a righteous God, they must ultimately be realized in the case of moral beings. Nay, more, we may justly conclude that, if these moral values could never be realized in their fullness, then they would come to be regarded by finite beings as mere illusions of the mind,

and man would sooner or later lose his faith in things moral and spiritual. He would be unable to hold fast to the moral heights he had already won, and fail assuredly to reach forward to still nobler forms of character in the face of such a future. There would be a reversion to type, and the bulk of men would adopt a life like to that of the beasts, since like the beasts they too must suffer extinction.

Moral distinctions, therefore, if absolute and eternal, would, of course, not cease to exist ; but they would cease to be recognized by man, unless they justified their existence in human life in some, however imperfect, degree, and with the promise of their perfect realization in a personal immortality.

Hence the claim to a future life is a claim that a man feels himself driven to make, in order to bring the facts of his experience into harmony with the demands of his moral consciousness ; and so this claim comes to be an *essential* element in the highest forms of religion. Nay, more, we must urge that the claim is valid, if the universe is rational.

But Professor Pringle-Pattison, who believes in a future life, thinks otherwise, and writes as follows : " Personal Immortality, as the history of the race abundantly shows, is not an absolute necessity, in the sense that without it the world becomes a sheer irrationality." [1] In support of this view that personal immortality is not a necessary element in religion, he appeals to the religion of Israel, to Buddhism, and to Stoicism. In regard to the religion of Israel he quotes with approval an Old Testament scholar,[2] to the effect that " the Old Testament is of use in reminding us that the hope of immortality is one of the secondary and inferential elements

[1] *Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy*, p. 45.

[2] G. A. Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, p. 176.

of religious experience." Yes, this is quite true of the earlier stages of a growing religion, but it is not true of the later, as the history of the religion of Israel itself proves. But for the emergence of this belief, the religion of Israel would have gone the way that all religions of arrested development had gone before.[1]

Israel was continually advancing in its conception of God down to the fourth century B.C. But great misconceptions were inherent in its religious thought, and the chief of these was, as we have already pointed out, that man receives his just and full reward for all his conduct in this life — a doctrine continually enforced in Deuteronomy, Proverbs, and the Psalms, a doctrine that prevented for centuries the fuller development of the Jewish religion. But for the rejection of this doctrine by Job and the development by his successors of the doctrine of a blessed future life, there is no valid ground for believing that Judaism would ever have been more than an isolated and barren Semitic cult. Such a narrow cult could not survive the rise of profounder reflection on this question in Israel and the consequent claims of the enlightened conscience of the individual, which could find no satisfaction in a conception of the future from which all that was truest and purest and best was excluded. Without the doctrine of a future

[1] What is not essential to the life of a religion in its earlier stages may and often does become essential in its fuller development. Even in the Old Testament we have a partial illustration of this truth. The author of Ecclesiastes and the author of the 88th Psalm rejected the new belief in a future life, and though nominally they remained theists, they became philosophical pessimists and questioned the reality of goodness in this life and its persistence in any other. This is the next step to "pessimistic atheism," in spite of the demur of Pringle-Pattison, *Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy*, p. 183; *Idea of God*, pp. 43–44. J. S. Haldane rejects wholly any belief in an individual immortality, *The Sciences and Philosophy*, pp. 293–307.

life it could never have withstood victoriously the aggressions of Greek superstition under Antiochus: much less could it have given birth to Christianity. It has been well remarked that "in proportion to spiritual progress is the force of spiritual longings." But if these spiritual longings are not satisfied either here or hereafter in the minds of the faithful, then spiritual progress cannot fail to be arrested, and a spiritual dry rot set in alike in the individual and the community.

Buddhism,[1] it is true, did reject at the outset all idea of a personal future existence. But Buddhism was essentially a purely ethical system, and had no real metaphysical background. Hence when confronted with metaphysical difficulties, it has been repeatedly obliged to fall back on some conception of the future life, as in Japan and Ceylon, and to attempt to establish itself ontologically. Its evidence is, therefore, self-contradictory on this question.

Nor does Stoicism afford any proof that religion in its higher development can dispense with this doctrine. Stoicism was, as Lightfoot describes it, "the offspring of despair."[2] Its results are of the most meagre description. "It produced . . . a few isolated great men; but on the

[1] To the kindness of Dr. Estlin Carpenter I owe the following statements on Buddhism in a letter dated Jan. 14, 1924: "The Pali texts admit both views, 'no self' and 'self,' to be orthodox and legitimate, and some sects expressly based their teaching on the reality of the self. . . . When the anti-metaphysical Buddhism encountered the Brahmanical philosophy, it underwent a complete change. The doctrine of an eternal Buddha had for its counterpart the corresponding conception of a metaphysical self. This seems to me a remarkable instance of the need of ethical culture to establish itself ontologically. . . . The compilers of the early texts evidently felt the difficulty of Gotama's original doctrine, and the reserve in which they enveloped the question of ultimate destiny, whether for a Buddha or an Arahat, shows how anxious they were not to close all doors against the idea of another kind of existence in the realm of 'the unborn, the unoriginated, the uncompounded.'"

[2] *Philippians*[6], p. 271.

life of the masses and on the policy of States it was almost wholly powerless." [1] It is noteworthy that one of its greatest confessors, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius,[2] definitely expresses his grief that good men, "when they have once died, should not live again but be utterly extinguished." The lack of a belief in a future life appears to be one [3] of the chief grounds for the total disappearance of Stoicism in the course of the next generation.

We conclude, therefore, that, if a particular religion is advancing morally and spiritually, then the doctrine of a blessed personal immortality must sooner or later become an essential article of its creed, and not a "secondary or inferential" element—otherwise the religion itself will disappear, or stagnate into a grovelling and hurtful superstition.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 309.

[2] *Meditations*, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ ἀποθάνωσι, μηκέτι αὖθις γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀποσβηκέναι.

[3] Lightfoot, *op. cit.* pp. 319–328. Immortality, properly so called, has no place in their (*i.e.* Epictetus', M. Aurelius', and Seneca's) philosophies.

X

NO RESERVATIONS IN CHRIST'S SERVICE

"And he saith unto Him, Master, all these things have I observed from my youth. And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor . . .: and come, follow Me. But his countenance fell at the saying, and he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions."—St. Mark x. 20–22.

ONE of the saddest pictures in the world is Watts' great painting entitled "For he had great possessions." In this picture the artist represents the scene described in our text. Christ has just made the great demand: "Sell all that thou hast and come, follow Me," and the rich young man, without venturing a reply, is already turning away. The artist has deliberately hidden the face of the man that had made the great refusal. Perhaps no brush could depict such sorrow as his. Accordingly he has elaborated his art on the young man's rich garments and costly attire, in order to symbolize the wealth he could not part with, and the things for which he was sacrificing the eternal life that he had professed from his earliest days to value above all the world besides.

Let us study this incident, which occurred at the outset of our Lord's last missionary journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, and actually at the moment that He was setting out upon it.

It is this fact of our Lord's departure from Galilee that

explains the young ruler's haste: now or never he must capture the golden opportunity, and so he came running, and cast himself down at the Great Teacher's feet. From Him alone he felt that he could get a solution of his difficulties and find the peace he longed for. And so with earnestness and sincerity he put the question: "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" And Jesus said unto him: "Why callest thou Me good? None is good save one, even God." This is a warning to the young ruler that his idea of goodness is wrong. "You," our Lord would say, "think that divine goodness is to be attained through a series of outward acts. You are wrong: it is not to be won through a series of such acts, but by living the life of God." The way thereto lay through self-sacrifice. But in order to lead the young ruler to a right conception, our Lord descends to his level of thought, and replies: "Thou knowest the commandments, Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honour thy father and mother."

This answer called forth the surprise of the young man, who rejoins: "Master, all these have I observed from my youth up." These words express the young man's disappointment, and in some degree his despair. He had hoped for something incomparably better. He did not wish to be reminded of the things which he had been doing, adequately, as he thought, all his life, and which had wholly failed to give him the spiritual life and peace he now sought. The obvious sincerity and goodness of the young ruler called forth our Lord's compassion and love, though He saw with His piercing vision the evil that lurked beneath. The young ruler had kept, it was true, the commandments in the letter, but failing to find therein the satisfaction he longed for, he had come in real earnestness and sincerity to learn what else

he should do to inherit eternal life. But all the while he had made hitherto, perhaps unwittingly, one mental reservation, and this was—he could not part with his great possessions. And so to awake his conscience, to open his eyes to his real need, to reveal to him his chief desire and not his secondary one, Christ issues to him the severe unconditional command: "Go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor . . . and come, follow Me." But the young ruler was unequal to the demand that Christ made upon him: "his countenance fell at the saying, and he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions." The words of Christ had gone straight home; but the young ruler could not yield to the demand, and so with troubled conscience, with slow and reluctant step, with bent head and downward look he left the presence of Christ. For a moment he had stood in the fierce light that beats upon every figure in the Gospel narrative: he had appeared as one specially singled out by the love of Christ, and summoned by Him in a form of words that amounted to a call to Apostleship, and then through his faithless refusal he had retired into an unblessed gloom, an unfathomable darkness. Such are the details of the incident. We have now to study the stern command alike in the letter and in the spirit: "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor . . . and come, follow Me."

As addressed to the young ruler, these words are to be taken in their complete literalness. His riches were the one obstacle that stood between him and the kingdom of God. This command is nothing more than a special application of the larger command uttered by our Lord on another occasion: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all things else shall be added unto you"; that is, you will receive the spiritual blessedness and peace of the kingdom, and furthermore, your Heavenly Father will see

that you will have all the secondary things you really need. But so long as you regard the kingdom of God as a secondary thing you can never find it. But this command, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," is not always to be taken literally, as in the case of the young ruler. Many a generation has taken this command literally; and many an enthusiast has sold all that he had—given to the poor, and subsequently learnt to his grief in the hermit's cell, in the monastery, in the convent, in the cloister, that he still cherished in his bosom some infirmity of the flesh or spirit, from which it was still more difficult to break away, and found within such hallowed precincts that sins, just as damning as covetousness, could live and flourish, yea and dominate man's soul to the exclusion of all things else. St. Paul has put this truth in never-to-be-forgotten words: "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor but have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

The command, then, is in some cases to be accepted literally, but in others it is the spirit of it that is to be obeyed. There are, no doubt, many nowadays from whom a literal obedience is required just as truly as from the young ruler in the text. But these are probably in the minority; for covetousness is not the chief and only sin that stands between man and his acceptance of Christ, but only one of the many sins that compete for the first place in man's heart, and prevent him from becoming a loyal and whole-hearted subject of the kingdom of God.

We have here, therefore, not a definite rule but a principle binding upon all. And this principle is: there must be no reservations in Christ's service.

But before we consider the spiritual application of the words, we should turn aside and notice the strong objection that political economists and others have taken to the

literal observance of this command of Christ. But such critics fail to take into account the vast difference between the social conditions of the ancient world and of the modern. In Palestine the poverty of a considerable part of the population throughout most of the Old Testament times, and of the first century of the Christian era, was simply appalling. The inhabitants were ground down by heavy taxation, there were no hospitals or almshouses founded by private beneficence, no poorhouses provided by the State. Under-housing was the rule, as we may infer from the words of our Lord's parable (Luke xi. 7): "Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed." Hence large masses were always destitute on every side, save in a few periods of Jewish history. Owing to these facts, almsgiving was regarded not only as one of the necessary virtues in Judaism, but came in time to be regarded as the chiefest of all, just as in the Middle Ages it claimed and won the chiefest place also in Christianity, and that in defiance of St. Paul's words: "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor and have not love, it profiteth me nothing." These facts are still preserved to us in the history of two notable words, "righteousness" and "love." These two words, "righteousness" and "love"—"righteousness" representing the highest good of Judaism in the Old Testament, and "love" representing the highest grace of Christianity in the New—came in the course of time to be identified in both with mere almsgiving. Thus about twenty times, where righteousness occurs in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, it is translated in the oldest Greek Version by a word meaning almsgiving. Almsgiving, thus conceived as the truest form of righteousness, was, according to Tobit[1] and Sirach,[2] not only a meritorious act but an actual atonement for sin in

[1] Tob. iv. 7, 6–16, xii. 8, 9, xiv. 2–10. [2] Sir. xxix. 12.

this world, and, according to many Jewish Rabbis, in the next world also.[1] A like perversion of a high religious conception early made its way into inferior MSS. and early Versions of the New Testament in Matt. vi. 1. Thus, we have in our Authorized Version," Take heed that ye do not your alms before men " ; in the Revised Version, following the best MSS. we have, " Take heed that ye do not your righteousness[2] before men." Thus the highest grace of Christianity came to undergo the same degradation as had the highest virtue of Judaism. Charity, which originally meant " love," and had nothing directly to do with almsgiving, being derived from the Latin word " *caritas*," came in later days to be synonymous with almsgiving pure and simple. And the almsgiving, or charity, was often of no lofty type. The motives for such almsgiving were based but too frequently on the beneficial effects that were believed to accrue to the giver rather than to the receiver. Whether the receiver was benefited or injured thereby was a secondary question. Now, so far as this was true of mediæval almsgiving, the objections of modern moralists and political economists hold good. But that such almsgiving is wrong is shown by our Lord's example and teaching. For our Lord used the material help He gave to minister to the spiritual welfare of those that came to Him, and, while He bade His disciples to give to them that asked, His other command—not to put a stumbling-block in a brother's way

[1] This view was to some extent introduced into the Christian Church by Augustin (*Enchiridion*, 110).

[2] The wrong text arose probably through a gloss in the margin that originated in the Rabbinic usage. This usage identified " alms " with " righteousness." But " righteousness " (*i.e.* צדקה or צדק) never has this meaning in the Old Testament; in the New Testament δικαιοσύνη once has the meaning of " beneficence " in 2 Cor. ix. 9, where it is a quotation from Ps. cxii. 9, and is repeated in this sense by St. Paul in 2 Cor. ix. 10.

—prescribed clearly the nature of such help. True charity, then, has for its paramount aim—not the giving of doles, not the relief of our own overcharged and often passing and unwise emotions, but the thoughtful administration of help to those who are, to our own knowledge, actually in need of it. The bestowal of doles without some knowledge of the character of the recipient has no claim to the name of Christian charity or goodness of any kind. Nay, rather, it is an evil thing masquerading in the guise of a virtue; and in its issues it labours under a double curse: it is a curse alike to the giver, and to the receiver; it drugs the uneasy conscience of him that gives, and enfeebles and degrades the moral energies of him that takes.

Notwithstanding, the fact remains that it is our duty to give to the poor, *i.e.* to help those that are in real need, those who have claims on our help, and whom we can help. This is no counsel of perfection but one of the most elementary duties in the religious life, without the fulfilment of which we have no claim to be members of the Church of Christ. St. Paul states this duty in its first and most obvious application: "If any man provide not for his own people, and specially for the members of his own household, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel" (1 Tim. v. 8).

This teaching was far from needless in the Primitive Church, since the Essenes, a pure and ascetic branch of the Jewish Church, taught their members not to give relief to their own relations without special permission, though they might freely give to others in need. The same un-Christian prescript prevails in certain ascetic developments in the Christian Church. Thus the Christian teaching is that the first rightful claimants on our helpfulness are those who are united to us by the bonds of family relationship. If we are faithless in this respect, it is of no avail to give largely to

our Church or community, to national projects, or to the needs of humanity at large. Dickens represents in his inimitable way a character of this description in *Bleak House*, where Mrs. Pardiggle sacrifices the claims of her own children to the Superannuated Widows' Fund, to a Non-Smoking Crusade, and the Tockahoopo Indians. Now, with regard to all such, St. Paul declares they have denied the faith and are worse than infidels. The giving here includes not merely such material things as food and raiment and the like, but the giving of courtesy and love, and every form of social and spiritual helpfulness that are due to our own people. But such giving, though it must begin at home, cannot end there. It must go forth to such friends as are in need of our help and whom we really can help: from friends to others outside our personal knowledge, but whose needs have been brought before us, whether belonging to our own country or to other peoples and other lands. With regard to the claims of this larger circle on our material help the pronouncement of St. John is quite unmistakable: "Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" (1 John iii. 17).

To give to the poor—whether it be to those in need of material help, or in need of sympathy and kindly offices, or of spiritual uplifting and encouragement—is then a natural function of the Christian life, and the various fields of its exercise are defined by the various relations in which we stand to our brethren.

Returning now to the young ruler, we might well ask: Of what advantage were all his good habits, and his unswerving obedience to the Law from his youth up until now, if he could fail so utterly, when the claims of the higher life were urged upon him? The answer is obvious: His

moral and religious faithfulness in the past had endowed him with the power of seeing in Christ the blessedness and peace that hitherto he had failed to win for himself and yet that he fain would make his own.

The reward of all the religious struggles and wrestlings of his earlier years—and without such struggles and wrestlings no man can keep even the letter of the Commandments—the reward of such wrestlings was just this, that, when the young ruler was brought face to face with the Great Teacher, he could recognize in Him his rightful Master, one who could teach him the secret of that higher life he longed to make his own, and so he asked: "What must I do that I may inherit eternal life?" This question shows that the young ruler had grown dissatisfied with the life of merely well-ordered habit, and had become in some measure conscious of a life that infinitely transcended it. He had for the moment broken with the bonds of conventional duty and religion, under which his conscience, losing the full sincerity and earnestness of his earlier years, had come to a comfortable and easy compromise with itself, by fulfilling a fixed and conventional minimum of duty alike to God and man. But now that that compromise was shattered, the life of settled and orderly habit, adequate before, could no longer satisfy: it had lost its sacredness, its inspiration; it testified less of heaven in his manhood than it had in his boyhood and in his youth. There was accordingly no hope of attaining peace, unless he braced his will to meet the new obligations laid upon it by Christ: "Sell all that thou hast . . . and come, follow Me." The command could not be evaded, if he would go onward and upward; for the consciousness that all his future well-being was dependent on this decision was awakened, and he knew only too well that the power of choice and action lay in his own hands.

He that had professed hitherto to acknowledge God's Law as the supreme authority in his life could not now, unless he would wreck his life, refuse to obey this fresh demand, and part with the thing that came between himself and God. No evasion was possible. He could not urge: In all things else I will obey Thee, but in this matter I cannot follow Thy bidding. He could not do so; for it was just in respect of this command that his will came into direct conflict with God's will, and he knew that, if he declined obedience here, he thereby renounced God's service, and must go forth from such experience, no longer a citizen of the kingdom of God, but a rebel and an outlaw.

This is the meaning of St. James's stern statement: He that offends in one part is guilty of all—that is, he that deliberately withholds his obedience, where God asks him to obey, and that is generally where it is hardest at the moment, is guilty of entire disobedience to God.

The general lesson of this incident, then, is that in our service of God there must be no reservations. For, if we make any reservation, if there is an evil deed that we will do, a wicked passion that we will indulge, a wrong course that we will follow, an evil habit we will not break, then just therein we have met our Master, we have heard His command, we have denied Him our allegiance; and we have gone forth from His presence with a sorrow conscious of its own degradation, and the downward look that tells of a heart face to face at last with its own baseness and yet unwilling to renounce it.

But the requirement of Christ is not negative merely: it is in the highest degree positive: "Sell all that thou hast . . . and come, follow Me." Christ requires no sacrifice that ends purely in itself. In such sacrifice there would be no element whatever of good. The idea that mere sacrifice

or asceticism is in itself a thing pleasing to God is a piece of gross superstition. No, the sacrifice required by Christ is the putting away of the evil thing that makes true discipleship impossible. If the young ruler had given up his covetousness, then he would have been fitted to obey the still higher command: "Come, follow Me." The reward of fulfilling the first duty would have been attended with power to undertake the second. And the second would have been one of a series, knowing no goal but the perfection of God Himself.

And to every one of us the command of Christ applies no less than to the young ruler, though it takes a different form with each, according to the nature of the secret reservation we are severally making in our hearts. To one our Lord says in the same literal sense as to the young ruler: Your heart is set on your possessions or given up wholly to the pursuit of wealth; put away the covetousness that is coming between you and God, and, sharing your wealth with those that are really in need, "Come, follow Me."

To another: Put away from you your indolence, your self-indulgence, your scamping of your work, your lack of conscientiousness, your breaking of your covenants one with another, your immoral principle of "Ca' canny," and, giving yourself whole-heartedly to the task God has called you to, "Come, follow Me." To another: Get control of your bad temper and your bitter tongue; remember that greater is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city or winneth the greatest battle ever fought on earth. To another: Put away the cup of drunkenness that is enslaving and destroying you. To another: Break with the uncleanness wherewith you are polluting your body—your body which is a temple of God's own Spirit, and "Come, follow Me."

And if we hearken to our Lord's command and go forward,

the blessing of His peace will rest upon us in the measure of our faithfulness.

But, since we are all more or less imperfect in our earnestness ; since, struggle as we will, there is always an interval between what we are and what we should be, our hearts will from time to time be cast down and disquieted within us, will be steeped in profoundest sorrow—not, indeed, in the shameful sorrow of the soul that has made the great refusal and surrendered itself to its own baseness, but in the sorrow of a soul which, filled with infinite longings, pursues a grace it cannot wholly overtake, and which, the moment it has attained to one excellence, sees others and greater far rising on its horizon and claiming its allegiance. The life of the faithful soul is a continuous advance here and hereafter, from strength to strength, from height to height : an eternal progress in high and ever higher service, a noble and ever nobler adventure ; for the goal is nothing less than the knowledge and perfectness of God, and all the way thither lies in the faithful following of the Christ.

XI

TWO DIFFERENT TYPES OF MEN WHO ANSWER CHRIST'S CALL

"The kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in the field; which a man found, and hid; and in his joy he goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a merchant seeking goodly pearls: and having found one pearl of great price, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it."—MATT. xiii. 44–46 (R.V.).

IN this thirteenth chapter of St. Matthew there are, as you are aware, seven parables. These seven parables may have occurred in this order in the original source, on which the first Evangelist drew, and their order may even possibly be the order in which our Lord stated them, but on this question we can arrive at no certain or even probable conclusion at present. Notwithstanding, the fact that they are given in a certain order in St. Matthew is in the opinion of that Evangelist significant. Let us, then, in a few words attempt to set forth the line of thought that binds the first six together. The seven parables are the Sower, the Tares, the Mustard Seed, the Leaven, the Hid Treasure, the Pearl of Great Price, and the Net.

In the parable of the Sower we have the advent of the Divine Word in the world, but withal with no great apparent success. Of the four classes of mankind to whom it comes, to only one does the Divine Word become the power of an endless life. In the second parable, that of the Tares, we

are given to know that the small and slight beginnings of the kingdom shadowed forth in the first parable are beset with further and great dangers. An enemy is at work, who is ever striving to undo the labours of the Lord of Life. The prospect is full of gloom, and so, lest His followers should be tempted to despair, Christ declares under the figure of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven that His kingdom, though at first small and ineffective beyond all expectation, would nevertheless grow into an all-powerful kingdom, which, like a mighty tree, would cover the earth with its great arms and foliage, and like leaven would leaven the whole world with its spirit, potency, and life: that its growth would be at once outward and inward, and its outer manifestation would keep pace with the development of its inner life. Herein we have the declaration of the final triumph of the kingdom, which is likewise foretold in the beatitude, "The meek shall inherit the earth."

But, whereas in the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven, Christ represents the kingdom in its universal aspect; in those of the Hid Treasure, and the Pearl of Great Price, He sets it forth from the standpoint of the individual, and declares the means by which a man becomes a citizen of His kingdom. These two parables agree in emphasizing one great lesson—namely, the incomparable value of the kingdom of God. However many really good things there may be, and there are many, it is the chief good, in respect of which all the rest are inconsiderable or as nothing. Hence both classes of men are represented in these two parables as selling all that they have in order to make this good thing their own.

Thus these two parables agree as to the incomparable value of the kingdom. But in a very important respect they differ. They deal with two different types of men—

the first with those who are not seeking it: the second with those who are. The parable of the Hid Treasure relates to those who have never discovered that there is a supreme end in life, till they have come upon this truth unexpectedly: and so in their case "Christ is found of them that sought Him not." On the other hand, the parable of the seeker after goodly pearls relates to those who are assured that there are some or many good things in life, in the acquiring of which they shall find their heart's desire. And accordingly they set themselves to acquire these good things and spare no pains in the quest, till at last they come upon the one supreme good, which embraces all other good things within it.

But though these two classes of men are distinguished from each other in this important respect, there is also one essential characteristic in which they agree. Thus, when they come upon the treasure, they both take the same action—those who had never sought it at all and those who had sought it earnestly—they both take the same action—they at once proceed to sell all they possess in order to make this treasure their own. In both classes, therefore, there is the honest and good heart. Both are ready to part with all they have, when the supreme call comes. They may have been ardent seekers after pearls of great price, like St. Paul, Justin Martyr, Augustine, Luther; or, like the finders of the hid treasure, they may have never thought of the supreme ends of life at all: they may have been ordinary decent folk, thinking only of this world and its interests, or else gross reprobates, such as Mary Magdalene or the thief on the Cross, and the countless sinners who have found Christ though they sought Him not. Both classes alike possess in some degree the honest and good heart—that is, openness to conviction, teachableness, single-

mindedness. When a truth is set before such men and women, they start forward and take its side and give themselves up to it single-heartedly. When their sin is brought home to them, they do not attempt to palliate or shuffle out of it, but confess their guilt without excuse, and without extenuation. Whatever, therefore, their previous life may have been, both classes are in greater or less degree open to conviction, teachable, single-minded.

As regards the finder of the hid treasure, his action in buying the field in order to make himself the owner of the treasure set him right with the requirements of the Rabbinic law,[1] but certainly did not set him right with equity. According to equity the finder virtually stole the treasure. While making the purchase, he deliberately suppressed the fact that the field contained treasure. But we are not concerned with the morality of this transaction any more than with that of the Unjust Steward in the parable, who was commended as in certain respects worthy of imitation though not in others, nor with that of the Unjust Judge in another parable, where in a certain respect the judge stands for God.

The morality of the man who purchases the field is ignored, and only the essential aim of the parable taken into account. And the essential aim of the parable is to enforce the duty of buying the field, even should its purchase require the finder of the treasure to sell everything else that he has in order to buy the field. When this fact is translated into its spiritual equivalent, it means just this, that there must be a selling and a buying in order to obtain the heavenly treasure. And the selling and the buying in this connection express a man's willingness to give up, to sacrifice everything that prevents his making the heavenly treasure his own. All have the wherewithal to buy the field ; the price

[1] See *Baba Mezia*, i. 4. 28 *b*.

is the surrender of themselves to God in Christ. This surrender may involve very different degrees of sacrifice. When the supreme call comes to men, it finds some loving things that ought not to be loved at all, and others loving legitimate objects of affection far too well. From both alike it requires the absolute surrender of these, and, if the demand is complied with, then the price required is paid, and both become citizens of the kingdom of God.

But let us study more in detail the characters of the finder of the hid treasure and the seeker after goodly pearls. Now, if we paid attention only to the most typical members of these two classes of men, we should regard the finders of the hid treasure as men who had never shown any spirit of self-sacrifice in their conduct, nor any discontent with their moral condition, nor any deep desire after higher things: and we should regard the seekers after goodly pearls as men whose moral energies were ever on the stretch, whose vision was always fixed on something beyond the best they had, and who were ever ready to sacrifice any present comfort or possession in order to realize these aspirations. But in actual life the difference between these two classes is not so clearly marked. It is not true that the finders of the hid treasure never sacrifice selfish aims at the call of some high duty. Occasionally—and in some cases frequently—many men of very questionable character exhibit noble qualities. In ordinary life many a man may be most unselfish as a father, yet most unprincipled in business relations with his neighbours. He sacrifices the lower for the higher in one department of life, but in other departments he pursues only his selfish interests. In other words, he belongs to the finders of the hid treasure and not to the seekers after goodly pearls. In this class are to be found the numberless Esaus, who have often individual good points, charming manners

and personalities, who are ready frequently to make small sacrifices, and, under exceptional circumstances, perhaps even the greatest, but on whom you dare not count in the day of your own great extremity, any more than they can count on themselves in their own day of decision. In that dread day, if their character is put to the test, they will in all likelihood sell their divine birthright for a mess of pottage. Besides, much of the apparent goodness of such Esaus is simply constitutional or hereditary. It has become theirs through no effort of their own, but simply through the happy fortune of a good ancestry, or a good digestion, or a good environment. Where their goodness is *true* goodness but limited to some narrow sphere of activity or sporadic in its exercise, there has been some arrest in their moral development: else this goodness would never have left off growing. Thus the first class embraces not only the men who are thoroughly selfish and are quite ready to sacrifice their own people, their friends and country, in order to save themselves, but also the men who under exceptional circumstances on some clear and urgent call of duty are ready to give themselves up for family, friend, or country, and yet on the ordinary occasions of life are often too ready—nay, more, are accustomed—to sacrifice the higher for the lower end.

The fact, however, that they can forget and sacrifice themselves on certain great emergencies shows that they have within them possibilities and potentialities of the higher life, which are only waiting to be awaked through some unexpected visitation or summons of God's Spirit.

But though there are great diversities of character in this class, its members agree in this, that, whether they are among the ambitious and successful ones of the world, or are mere earners of their daily bread, aiming at nothing

beyond the fulfilment of the day's routine, whether they are contented or discontented with their lot, they all alike ignore the fact, or else are ignorant, that there is a blessedness that transcends their highest desires and transcends them in an infinite degree. Their outlook is confined to this world: they seem to have no interest that travels beyond it, no aim outreaching its utmost horizons. They find in it so much interest and satisfaction, such an ample response to their desires and ambitions, that you cannot imagine them as desiring something better or higher, or even as speculating whether there is anything higher and better than what they already know and have made their own, or are seeking to make their own. These are the typical muck-rakers in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

And then suddenly in the midst of such purely earthly pursuits the vision of a higher life bursts upon them unexpectedly, and then, if they are willing to make the needful response, or, to use the words of the parable, to sell all that they have to buy the heavenly treasure, Christ is truly found of them—found of them though they had not sought Him.

Let us now turn to the second class, who are represented in the second parable by a merchant seeking goodly pearls. Unlike the first class, the members of this class refuse to be satisfied with such things as they at present possess. Employ themselves as they may in the quest of the good things of this world, they have barely made them their own, when the spirit within them discounts their value, and so they strike their tents anew and resume their lifelong quest. They regard physical health, good education, and the respect of their fellow-men as goodly pearls, but they cannot rest satisfied with these. They will have nothing short of the best, and so they make one acquisition after another. They may be far from blameless, but since the prevailing note in

their conduct is their discontent with their present achievement and their resolve to better it, the redemption of their entire nature sooner or later is assured. They may desire money, but soon they recognize that knowledge is better, and so they part with the one to get the other. If the alternative of large means or large knowledge is presented to them, then they close at once with the more exacting claims of knowledge. The esteem and approbation of their neighbours are good and much to be desired, but self-respect and an unstained conscience are much better. And so they go forward, ever seeking some other good that transcends the best they have. With Rabbi ben Ezra in Browning's poem, their deepest conviction is—"the best is yet to be," and, finally, that best they find in the knowledge of Christ.

But though the lower object has to be abandoned in order to secure the higher, the lower object is in reality not lost to the man who forsakes it at the call of the higher. In fact, the forsaking of the lower object in obedience to a higher aim is found on experience to be the very condition for securing the lower. Just as the thoroughgoing self-seeker in his base pursuit loses his heart and soul and all his best faculties and ultimately the things themselves for which he sacrificed them, so the self-surrendered soul recovers in glorified form the very blessings he had surrendered.

His discovery of the truth of all truths does not lower the value of other forms of truth. Rather it gives them a greater value, and, even if his pursuit of them has to be abandoned for a time at the summons of truth in its highest form, yet the surrender is but temporary, and their attainment sooner or later assured. Having sought first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, he finds that all things else are in due course added unto him.

There is one more point which should be carefully ob-

served, and this is the different tenses used in describing the action of the two men after their discovery of their respective treasures. Of the merchant it is said, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant seeking goodly pearls: and having found one pearl of great price, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it." The sale of all that he had and the purchase of the pearl of great price follow *immediately* on its discovery. There is not a moment's delay in the whole transaction. That this is the idea intended, a comparison of the language used in the first parable affords further evidence. According to it, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in the field; which a man found, and hid; and in his joy he goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field." Here we observe that our Lord says "goeth and selleth and buyeth" [1] over against

[1] These are historic presents. On this point all scholars are agreed. But, strangely enough, commentators hold that in this passage they are used merely to give vividness to the narrative, and their use here is therefore simply of a dramatic character. They require the reader or hearer to take his stand in the midst of the drama described. Blass, in his earlier edition, considers that such historical presents "habitually take an aoristic meaning." But in the fourth edition (edited by Debrunner, 1913), p. 186, it is only claimed that this is mostly the case. The historic present can also have a durative force (see Robertson, *Grammar*, p. 867), and this is the meaning that the context supports in Matt. xiii. 44: ὑπάγει . . . πωλεῖ . . . ἀγοράζει—"goeth — selleth — buyeth," or "keeps going —keeps selling—keeps buying." For these are not used simply to impart vividness to the narrative, but to express the ethical difference in the character of the two classes of men described in the two parables.

There is, however, a difficulty to be explained here. Seeing that Mark in his general narrative uses the historic present 151 times and not once in the parables which he recounts, can we rely on the originality of these historic presents in Matthew? I think we can do so without hesitation on the following grounds. (1) Since Matthew systematically eliminates the historic presents in the passages common to Mark and himself—69 times out of 79—it is clear that he does not like them, and therefore it is not likely that he would alter aorists in his sources into historic presents. (2) But it may be urged that this historic present does occur in Matthew

"went and sold and bought." Now the usual, and, as far as I am aware, universal, explanation of the present tenses in this parable over against the aorists in the second parable is that the Speaker uses here historic presents merely to give vividness to the story. But I am convinced that the use of the presents here is not due to the dramatic character of style, but to psychological grounds. Rightly understood, therefore, the presents here are what grammarians call durative, not dramatic: they are not used to give vividness to the narrative, but to represent continuous and sustained action. In the case of the finders of the hid treasure it is a long process and one not capable of immediate dispatch.

Thus these different tenses bring out a specific difference between the two classes. Though the first class may on minor and isolated occasions not only show a willingness to surrender the lower aim for the higher, but actually on some occasions or in some departments of action do so, yet such conduct is not habitual with them: it is not the ideal they set before them: much less do they attempt it in practice. On the other hand, the ideal and the practice of the second class are to make this surrender and, when they fall short of it

93 times. That is true, but 68 of these are λέγει, λέγουσιν, φησιν. Moreover, if he had used the historic present relatively as often as Mark, it would have occurred 244 times instead of 93. The appearance, therefore, of this present in passages derived from sources is good evidence that they were in those sources. (3) The parables in which the historic present occurs 11 times in Matthew are peculiar to Matthew. Hence there is no positive evidence against their originality in his sources, whereas there is evidence in their favour, seeing that Matthew's tendency would be to replace them by aorists. (4) But the evidence is still stronger if we take Luke into account. Luke positively avoids the historic present. If he had used it relatively as often as Mark, he would have done so 257 times, but he admits it into his text only 9 (or 11) times. And of these 9 times, 5 occur in parables peculiar to Luke. Hence the occurrence of the historical present in the original sources of some of the parables is well attested.

in practice, as they no doubt frequently do, they are overwhelmed with shame and self-reproach and give themselves anew to their task with purer aims and fuller devotion. Hence it follows that when the occasion arises for the supreme surrender, they do not find the difficulty in making that surrender that the first class do. To make such surrenders on the lower levels of life has become habitual to them, and so, when the supreme summons comes, they can make the surrender more or less in its completeness from the centre of their being to its circumference.

Thus the past character of the seekers after goodly pearls furthers their spiritual activities, and makes the process of their spiritual transformation a task of speedier accomplishment; whereas the past character of the finders of the hid treasure hampers their spiritual activities and makes the process of their spiritual transformation a task calling for time and prolonged effort. It is true that the latter may just as faithfully and as wholly surrender their hearts to God as do the seekers after the goodly pearls, but such surrender cannot at once transform their character; for that character is the creation of years, it may be, of a lifetime, the product of a variety of impulses, thoughts, desires, actions, habits, which as a rule have not risen above material standards or self-regarding ambitions. Hence, though in the crisis of conversion their souls are brought into actual communion with Christ, it is only gradually that their habitual thoughts, desires, activities, and habits can be brought into complete subjection to His will. Therefore it is that our Lord says in the parable, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hidden in the field; which a man found, and hid; and in his joy he goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field," or better, "keeps going and keeps selling all that he hath, and keeps buying that

field." His soul's aim is transformed, but it may take a long time to transform his life and character. At the crisis of conversion the character of the finder of the hid treasure is generally wholly unlike that which it should be. Though in his soul and aspirations he has in a real sense died to sin and risen to righteousness, the task of transforming his character is one that requires faith and constancy and time. Since the new life is a growth, and often a very slow growth, the difference to the outward observer between the old life and the new may be hardly perceptible. And yet as to inward principle the two lives are poles asunder.

In conclusion, and herein I would address more especially those who are dissatisfied with their present lives, and are seeking, whether it be only now and again, or with sustained purpose, like the seeker after goodly pearls, for the blessedness that is offered to all the souls of men. To such I would say never give up the quest, however often you fail. We are not made for final discomfiture but for victory, and that in the highest of all things. This blessedness is in store for us, if we are but steadfast to make it our own. No true effort in this quest, despite repeated failure, is ever lost. To this conviction let us be true alike for ourselves and for those who call us friends, and under no lure of gain or pleasure, no stress of difficulty or defeat, ever relinquish it. The quest will not be fruitless either for ourselves or others. If we seek, the Master assures us, we shall find. The only essential difference between the man who finds and the man who does not find is just this, that, whereas the latter after one or more failures gives up the quest in despair, the other, however often he fails, pursues it till he finds.

XII

GOD'S COMMISSION TO THE PROPHET, AND IN SOME MEASURE TO EVERY MAN [1]

"And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways." —St. Luke i. 76.

THE words which I have quoted from St. Luke proclaimed the infant John to be the prophet of the Highest, and the immediate forerunner of our Lord. In a certain and true sense these words can be used of every faithful servant of Christ. There is an indefeasible right of applying these words to every son of man who is seeking to do the will of God, and of describing him as one who goes before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways.

And if to every faithful servant of Christ these words are applicable, inspiring him to each fresh effort with the thought—"to this end was I born and for this purpose came I into the world"—then in a special degree can they be used of our brother here, whom the great imperial city of central England has, unconsciously but none the less truly, called to be her Chief Pastor and Bishop. The choice has been a wise one; for where in the Anglican Church could there be found one so well fitted to meet the imperious

[1] Preached at the consecration of Dr. Barnes as Bishop of Birmingham in Westminster Abbey on the Festival of St. Michael and All Angels, September 29, 1924.

needs of that great city—spiritual, intellectual, and civic. To her distinguished and highly-gifted son, the loss of whose services the Abbey deeply deplores, we feel sure that Birmingham with her churches, her citizens, her civic authorities, and her university will accord such an enthusiastic and genuine greeting as will brace him for the tasks of his high calling.

The task of the prophet must vary from age to age, and his province grow with the growing years. Nothing human, nothing cosmical, can lie outside the interest of the Christian prophet. Man, indeed, has sought to justify the prophet's lack of such interest by creating false distinctions, by branding this thing as secular and that thing as religious, by excluding such human creations as literature, learning, art, science, and politics from the sphere of things spiritual, and leaving to religion only the exhausted and palsied remnants of human life. Not content with immuring the bodies of men in cells and monasteries, this false conception of life would immure their minds also.

But all rightful occupations are in God's purpose alike sacred, and do not differ from each other in kind but only in degree of sacredness, according as one is more adapted than another to be a channel of divine grace and enlightenment. Every occupation, moreover, has its own particular teaching to impart, its own particular share to take in the formation of character. But, and this we cannot observe too carefully, in order that our life's occupation should enrich us with the divine revelation that it alone can bestow, we must address ourselves thereto in a spirit that transcends it, a spirit that is over and above it; it must be far above the highest social or personal relationships, infinitely above patriotism, far above the dearest human ties: "If any man cometh unto Me, and hateth not his father and mother,

his wife and children, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple."

This false distinction of things into things secular and sacred is seen most clearly in the relations of civil and religious authority. Civil governments, it is maintained, have no concern save with our so-called secular interests, whereas the sole task of religion is the care of our spiritual interests. But mind and body were created for one great end—the development and realization of our intellectual, moral, and spiritual natures, and for this end civil government is indispensable. It concerns itself, it is true, with our present interests, but these interests are essentially spiritual, since our everyday life brings with it manifold moral obligations, unceasing calls to duty, and opportunities for the exercise of all the Christian virtues and graces. Hence it is incumbent on civil government to make the realization of these high callings possible. Government is the organ of definite civil societies and is the means of giving them manifold expression. Such societies are held together, not through self-interest or artificial compacts but through moral and spiritual ties and others of ancestry and environment. Where a government ignores or deliberately antagonizes these, it is sooner or later doomed to destruction. "Religion," writes Burke, "is the basis of civil society." "God willed the State." The State "is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection." [1]

When, therefore, a government turns its back on its spiritual obligations, when it uses its powers for wrong or selfish ends, when it perverts the course of justice to serve the interests of party, whether the party be the vast majority, or a single class, or only a minority of one, it

[1] *Reflections on the French Revolution*, ed. Payne, pp. 106, 114, 115.

betrays the high trusts and responsibilities committed to its keeping, and, becoming itself a shameless preacher of crime, it spreads corruption throughout the commonwealth, and by its own venal and vicious example teaches its members to be venal and vicious in their turn. And thus it comes that the seat of government is usurped by mere opportunists and self-seekers, by men without principle, and with hardly even a prejudice, save such as ministers to their own advantage.

When a country is thus debased by its rulers, class hatred and class warfare become inevitable, domestic feuds, and the madness of party strife; office is sought for the profits it is like to yield, the departments of State and Church are besieged by hungry sycophants, and the seat of government turned into a sink of corruption. Do I paint the picture of the declension of government when disjoined from religion in too dark colours? Is it possible to do so with object lessons on such a gigantic scale as Russia provides, or the teachings of Communism, which inculcates on its members the love of humanity at large with the evasion of every duty to their own immediate neighbours at home or to the nations to which they severally belong? Bolshevism or Communism, whether here or in Russia, is surely "the last refuge of a scoundrel," whose main characteristics are those of the fool and of the knave raised to their highest powers.

Turning now from the relation of civil government to civilization we cannot but arrive at the same conclusion. Purely material civilization has its deadly perils. So far from being necessarily a source of moral and spiritual strength to its votaries, it tends rather to sap their best energies and to implant elements of decadence and degradation, which nothing but religion can eliminate and destroy. Material civilization adds, indeed, to the comforts and pleasures of

life, and especially to the sensuous and sensual factors in humanity. Art is claimed to be a sure agent in the elevation of man. Now art, it is true, is a witness to man's inherent greatness, but it can only contribute to true human progress, when it is itself subject to the claims of the Spirit. A great statesman once ventured to assert that "vice lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." But such a statement, it is surely obvious, is a complete perversion of the truth. It is also claimed that science is an unfailing contributor to the elevation of man. Now it is quite true that science is every day teaching man to master more and more the powers of nature and to make them minister to his will. But man makes these powers his servants only in turn to become their slave. A man may become a great artist, he may acquaint himself with the best learning of his day, he may discover the secrets of nature's smallest handiwork as well as of her vastest achievements, and yet remain a complete stranger to his own higher self. And what is there so pitiful in the world as the man who has an indefinite plenitude of its good things at his disposal, and yet has nothing else to comfort and strengthen his starved and dying soul ?

There is, therefore, nothing that can make life endurable without God. To teach this truth is the prophet's task. But this teaching must spring from a living faith. The prophet cannot be the parrot-like repeater of other men's ideas or the passionate declaimer of a creed unverified in his own experience. Rather it is his task to teach that, without a living and growing faith in God, life has no imperishable aim, progress no permanence, and our noblest longings and ideals no pledge of fulfilment in this or any other world. The best evidence for the truth which he teaches, will be that it meets and satisfies man's deepest needs, his noblest powers, and the purest and loftiest aspirations of his nature.

The times need faithful and intrepid teachers, who will find, in the very strength and number of their foes, not fearfulness of heart, but increased courage and fresh incentives to action. He that would teach men must not fear them.

The Christian teacher will impress on men the duty of seeking truth. The quest must be unfettered. Hence, as Westcott writes: "We do not believe simply that God has spoken but that He is speaking." [1] Again: "As long as experience is incomplete there can be no finality in the definition of doctrine." [2] And again: "As long as human knowledge grows it cannot be affirmed that the last word of the Spirit has been spoken. . . . In the presence of this widening of spiritual thought no authority can release men from the obligation of testing their opinions." [3]

Another great Cambridge scholar—Professor Gwatkin—writes most impressively to the same effect: "The theologian must be a learner like the rest, and . . . learn . . . the scientific spirit of patient reverence and wary independence. . . . Unanimous consent of the Fathers can no more prove the Chalcedonian system than the Ptolemaic; and it is mere irreverence to look upon the fluctuating majorities of arbitrarily selected councils as the proper mouthpiece of God's Holy Spirit. . . . Not even a revelation from above can dispense us from the elementary duty of receiving truth from whatever quarter it may come to us." [4]

Furthermore in our Prayer Book, in the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, the same primary importance of truth is emphasized. There intercession is made that "all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit." Here truth is rightly put before unity. But the emphasis is in-

[1] *Lessons from Work*, p. 7.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 13.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 14.
[4] *Studies in Arianism*, p. 265.

definitely stronger in the Prayer for the Church Militant in the Service of the Holy Communion. There petition is made that the universal Church may be inspired " with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord."

Again and again this petition recurs in different forms in this great prayer. Thus it continues: " Grant that all they that do confess Thy Holy Name may agree in the *truth* of Thy Holy Word and live in unity " : that the King " and all that are put in authority under him . . . may *truly* and indifferently minister justice . . . to the maintenance of Thy *true* religion " : that " all Bishops and Curates . . . may both by their life and doctrine set forth Thy *true* and lively Word," and that " all Thy people may hear and receive Thy Holy Word, *truly* serving Thee in holiness and righteousness." Truth, therefore, is of paramount importance in the Christian life. But truth cannot be pursued apart from freedom. In fact, they are so closely conjoined that they cannot be possessed apart. Truth makes man essentially free. The only freedom worth having is a freedom founded on truth.

The present is an age of free inquiry, and in all such ages freedom is attended by dangers of its own. But there is no such school as that of danger for forming high Christian character and the courageous love of truth. Without freedom and the right of finding truth for himself, man is doomed to perpetual infancy. The best teachers are those who awake in their pupils the love of truth and the capacity of thinking for themselves. The present time is a time of spiritual tension, but such tension is a sign of life. There have been ages of religious quiet and ease in Zion—the so-called " ages of faith " ; but they are not such as we can look back on with admiration or thankfulness ; for in a great degree they were ages of spiritual stagnation, of ignorance and darkness, of dying faith and growing superstition.

Now Christianity claims in an incomparable degree to be a religion founded on truth, and that not a fixed but on a living and growing truth. "I have many things to say, but ye cannot bear them now." "The Spirit will guide you into all truth."

The Church values incomparably the experience of the past but does not accept it as final, or as authoritative, but as educative. "General Councils," as one of our Articles states, "may err and have erred, even in things pertaining to God." When, therefore, a Church claims to be infallible, it must deny truth and become intolerant. If a doctrine enslaves the soul of man, it cannot be true. On the other hand, any enfranchisement which we attain, not through a deeper knowledge of ourselves and God, but through yielding to the claims of a weak humanitarianism, emotionalism, or sentimentalism, is an enfranchisement which leads not to freedom but to licence.

Man was created for an endless progress in truth and goodness and love. He finds the evidence for such a belief in his own experience. For why should he acclaim the spiritual splendours of sustained goodness or heroism? Why should he admire the growing disinterestedness of love? Why should the best amongst us spend themselves and their best powers in the quest of truth, and hunger and thirst until they have made such gifts and graces their own, or sacrificed themselves in the attempt? In these days we cannot lay too much stress on truth, freedom, and godliness. Beliefs, however correct, are not much better than prejudices, unless they have a living root in our own experience and thought. In very early days the Church came to lay an undue emphasis on correct doctrines. As century followed century the emphasis grew in intensity, till at last correct belief became immeasurably more important than a godly

life. But the evil did not cease here. Manifold untrue doctrines came to be taught by the Church, and were nevertheless set on a level with its fundamental beliefs, and hand in hand with the intellectual declension went the moral degradation of Christendom, till at last the spiritual discontent of multitudes of Christians broke with the fetters that bound them, and various countries, moved by the prophetic spirit, undertook the reformation, or even the reconstruction, of their churches on a national basis. In England it was not a reconstruction but a Reformation, the aim of which was to remove corruptions in practice and doctrine and to restore the Church of the first four centuries. There were, of course, different schools of thought among the Reformers, and so the English Reformation was, as Westcott writes, "a frank acceptance of differences, which were held to be compatible with Apostolic order and Catholic teaching." It was not a mere compromise but an attempt to recognize truth wherever found, and to make the Church of England at once Apostolic, Catholic, and Protestant. Its Protestant character was affirmed by Archbishop Laud in his last words on the scaffold: "I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in England, and in that I come now to die." [1] To the same effect Burke writes: "Violently condemning neither the Greek nor the Armenian, nor . . . the Roman system of religion, we prefer the Protestant; *not because we think it has less of the Christian religion in it, but because, in our judgment, it has more. We are Protestants, not from indifference but from zeal.*" [2] The Church steadily got hold of the nation, though there were periods of stagnation. But the spiritual forces silently at work within

[1] Archbishop of Canterbury's Funeral Sermon preached by himself on the scaffold, the 10th of January 1644.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 106 (*e.g.* the italics are mine).

the Church came from time to time into vigorous manifestation.

Thus, as from Oxford came the Wycliffe movement, so also from Oxford came forth the great Evangelical movement. Evangelicalism was, to begin with, intensely individualistic, a matter of personal experience, as must be the case in all true religious movements. Even Newman's spiritual life—and that and not his intellectual subtleties and chicaneries was the highest element within him—had its origin, as we know, in Evangelicalism. Of the fact of his "conversion" Newman stated that he was "more certain than that he had hands and feet." [1] But Evangelicalism did not confine its spiritual efforts to any narrow circle. It sent its missionaries all over England, and from England to all the countries of the world. "The whole world is our parish," said the two Wesleys. The C.M.S., amongst other missionary societies, is the fruit of its labours. It gave birth also to social reforms: it has to its credit the emancipation of the slave, the Factory Acts, and the care of abandoned children. But in due course it lost the freshness of its youth. It was without learning or a knowledge of Church history, and with notable exceptions here and there it began to settle on the lees. But within the last two decades it has in the form of Liberal Evangelicalism begun to renew its youth and to welcome truth from all quarters, and to this movement, I feel convinced, if it but holds fast to immediate communion with God in Christ as the first and supreme Article of faith and practice, belongs the future of the English Church; for, if it possesses this one indis-

[1] Even when he was thirty-one, Newman describes in a letter from abroad that he found the Roman Catholic religion, "polytheistic, degrading, and idolatrous." The later quotations I make from Newman explain how he could execute a complete *volte-face* and embrace such a "polytheistic, degrading, and idolatrous" religion.

pensable and living truth of religion, it can go forward fearlessly in the quest of all other truth and claim it as part and parcel of its rightful heritage.

When Evangelicalism was losing its first spiritual energies, a fresh movement—the Tractarian—emanated also from Oxford. This movement emphasized the continuity of the Church; it gave definite teaching on the Sacraments and the Apostolic succession. It restored dignity and reverence to Anglican worship. But it had little or no interest in social reforms during the first fifty years of its existence. It had certainly much learning, but it had little of the prophetic spirit; it worked in fetters. It knew nothing of historical criticism and it feared it accordingly. This is not strange, seeing that its most notable representative distrusted absolutely man's God-given faculties. "What is intellect itself," writes Newman, "but a fruit of the fall, not found in paradise or in heaven?" [1] And again, "The tendency of human reason is towards a simple unbelief in matters of religion. No truth, however sacred, can stand against it in the long run." [2] Hence the Tractarian movement, rooted in a profound ignorance of Historical Criticism, Science, Philosophy, and even of the German language in the person of its protagonist, set itself to combat research and all fresh truth, whether emanating from Philosophy, Historical Criticism, or Science. Is it strange that this movement has been the fruitful parent of ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism in a considerable body of the Anglican clergy of the present day? Naturally this body puts its trust in things abnormal, and, since it craves for signs from without, *is it not because it lacks assurance from within?*

The prophetic spirit is needed in these days to deepen intellectual and spiritual life. The tendency of certain forms

[1] *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, v. 112. [2] *Apologia*, p. 243.

of religion is to enslave and degrade the mind alike of the teacher and of the taught. They contain a terrorizing element. That this means of subduing the human mind should be freely resorted to is no wonder, seeing that no talent is needed to spread a spiritual panic, where character and thought are alike weak. Narrow minds and hard hearts are well equipped for this task—a fact of which the Church of Rome has availed itself in all ages to its own seeming advantage. All that such religions have to do is to make an unceasing reiteration, an endless ingemination of their claims, and countless minds are reduced to a state of fear and incapacity for thought. Teacher and taught are alike injured by the use of this indefensible practice. The taught becomes the passive instrument of his teacher and accepts the very teaching by which he is debased, while the teacher who wields this usurpation over men's minds is inspired with a fear of the truth that is the herald of its subversion.

The prophetic spirit is needed in these days to deepen spiritual life and to welcome every fresh truth of research and historical criticism and every new contribution of science and philosophy. In the present age the prophet claims all life and all the universe for God. He recognizes evolution as God's method of creation and he recognizes it as spiritual from its first beginnings—a creative activity controlled by a Divine Personality. The universe cannot be truly interpreted, unless it is spiritually interpreted. God's Spirit, as religion teaches and science is coming more and more to teach likewise, is guiding and quickening every form of life, from the amœba to the highest intelligence in the universe: in the purely inorganic world prescribing the exact law of form and movement; in the organic and lower animal world pressing into this reluctant medium from its first beginnings measures of life equal to or above its utmost

capacity and quickening it with infinitesimal gifts of intelligence that in due course give birth to instincts, nay, more, as it advances, to elementary forms of reason and morality —a method of evolution attended, therefore, in the lower forms of being, not only with possibilities of indefinite progress, but also of arrested development, or of declension into repulsive and gruesome types of being; in the world of humanity sustaining and inspiring our race in its inevitable struggle with the instincts, passions, morals, and habits of the lower life from which it has sprung, and ever leading it onward to the spiritual and divine ideals which it is at once the task and glory of an evolved and redeemed humanity to achieve.

Since, then, truth and freedom are indispensable to man's spiritual progress, it becomes a question of vital moment whether the English Church can sacrifice truth in order to form a corporate union with Rome in the literal sense—that is, a mere union of bodies—or whether it is not its God-given duty to lead the way in the search for truth, and to unite with all Christian churches with which it can unite, in a union of the Spirit. As regards union with Rome, it has been well said by the present Archbishop of Armagh: "If [such] union led to the creating and restoring of a universal hierarchical system, dominating human life in all its parts, and dictating doctrine and practice with professedly infallible authority, it would be the greatest disaster which could possibly befall mankind. . . . The only kind of reunion we should desire is that which, while holding fast the Christianity of Christ as given in the Gospels, secures ample liberty not only for every individual, but for every type of organized Christian life which has proved really effective in bringing the influence of Christ to bear on human life." With this statement most sane minds will agree. We cannot desire

unity at the cost of truth. Reunion, in any true sense of the word, must enrich and not radically impoverish the lives of the churches and individuals it has reunited. If reunion is achieved on any other lines, there might be uniformity, though even that is doubtful, but there could be no real union, only the forced and outward combination of cold, or neutral, or suspicious, or inwardly divided minds and communities. Such an artificial union has not a single trait in common with the unity for which Christ prayed; for that unity is to be a unity of the most spiritual order, such as that of the Father and the Son. Hence, we must seek unity through truth and be guided, therefore, by the words of the Master: "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know"; "and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free"—free to stand aloof till God's time has come, and then to unite in a true unity of the Spirit.

XIII

THE NEED OF LOVING GOD WITH THE MIND

"And one of the scribes came, and heard them questioning together, and knowing that He had answered them well, asked Him, What commandment is the first of all? Jesus answered, The first is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, [and with all thy mind],[1] and with all thy strength. The second is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."—St. Mark xii. 28–31.

THE account of this interview between the scribe and our Lord is found in the first three Gospels. If you compare these accounts, you will find that they diverge from each other in two distinct directions. The first main divergence consists in the fact that, whereas Matthew and Mark assign the two chief commandments of loving God and of loving our neighbour to Christ, Luke assigns them to the scribe. With this fundamental divergence we need not deal here. It does not affect our present purpose; for whether Luke is right or wrong in attributing these two commandments to the scribe, Christ attaches to them the imprimatur of His own authority in the words: "Thou hast answered well, this do and thou shalt live."

But with the second divergence we must deal, since it is

[1] Bracketed as an interpolation, being an alternative rendering of the same Hebrew original which is already rendered literally by the phrase, "with all thy heart."

relevant to our subject—namely, the duty of loving God with the mind. This divergence is not between the first two Gospels and the third as before, but between the second and third Gospels and the first. Now, in Mark and Luke we find the commandment given thus, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." But if we turn to the first Gospel, only three of these four clauses are given. Matthew omits "and with all thy strength." The question before us is not a merely academical one. The variations are significant and need to be studied, in order to recover the original form and meaning of the words. And that we can recover the original form there is no ground for doubt. The first step in our quest is taken when we recognize that the words of our text, "The Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength," [1] are a direct quotation from Deut. vi. 4–5. That these words were familiar to every Jew is a well-attested fact. According to Josephus [2] they were repeated by every faithful member of the Jewish community twice a day in the first century of the Christian era. The words in our text, therefore, so far as they relate to the duty of loving God, should be an accurate reproduction of the original text in Deut. vi. 4–5. But, as a matter of fact, they are not a correct reproduction. In Deuteronomy the text reads: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength." [3] How comes it, then, that Mark and Luke, when quoting

[1] The order of the last two clauses is reversed in Luke.

[2] *Ant.* iv. 8. 13. See Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*[3], ii. 460.

[3] The last three phrases are repeated in 2 Kings xxiii. 25.

this passage, add a fourth phrase—namely, "and with all thy mind"? To the Hebrew scholar there is no difficulty whatever here. He recognizes that the two phrases in Mark and Luke—namely, "with all thy heart" and "with all thy mind"—are simply two independent and alternative renderings of one and the same Hebrew phrase in Deuteronomy.[1] Thus the three phrases in Deuteronomy are expanded into four in Mark and Luke by the inclusion of two different renderings of one and the same Hebrew phrase. The first rendering, "with all thy heart," reproduces the Hebrew word for word. It is a literal but not an idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew; for according to the Hebrews the heart and not the brain was the seat of the intellect or mind.[2] To the Hebrews a heartless man was a brainless man. Hence the second and later [3] rendering in our text, "with all thy mind," is an idiomatic and good rendering. This second rendering stood at first most probably in the margin of Mark or Q as an alternative rendering, and was subsequently incorporated by a later scribe into the text. To recover, then, the original form of these words, which, as I have already said, were familiar to every Jew, we have only to omit one of the alternative renderings.[4] We may omit

[1] In Deut. vi. 5 the LXX has the second of these renderings ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου, whereas in 2 Kings xxiii. 25 we have ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ἀυτοῦ. The Hebrew in Deuteronomy is בכל לבבך, and similarly in 2 Kings.

[2] The Hebrew (לבב) is rendered by διανοίας in the LXX of Deut. vi. 5. נפש was never so rendered.

[3] Jeremiah (v. 21) speaks of Israel as a "foolish people and without understanding" where "understanding" is a translation of the Hebrew word for heart. Cf. Hos. vii. 11; Job xii. 24.

[4] The text in Mark xii. 33 is very uncertain. It appears in MSS. and Versions in at least four different forms—sure evidence of text corruption. With the chief Uncials W and H read ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης †συνέσεως† καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος. But for συνέσεως D and the early Latin MSS. read δυνάμεως. Syr. Cur. Sin. read ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ. This verse seems to have been recast after the incorporation of the phrase in xii. 30.

" with all thy mind," and retain " with all thy heart," if we are careful to remember that the latter phrase has exactly the same meaning as the former. The traditional text, therefore, both in Mark and Luke does not represent the original words of our Lord. But by omitting one or other of these two phrases we recover the original words of our Lord. But in Matt. xxii. 37 the text is still worse.[1] It reads: " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." Now, no Jew—not to mention our Lord or the scribe in question—could have reproduced so inaccurately the great commandment from Deuteronomy. For Matthew here omits the third clause in Deuteronomy, " with all thy strength," and in agreement with Mark and Luke combines the two independent translations of the first clause.

Our subject, therefore, is to deal shortly with the great commandment of the Old Testament, a commandment which is repeated and reinforced with the authority of our Lord in the New Testament; and this commandment is, " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength." This first great commandment we might translate more or less accurately in a modern form as follows: " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, and with all thy affections, and with all thy will."

The first requirement, then, of the first and great commandment has to do with the mind, " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind." Even the Greek trans-

[1] Not so in the ancient Syriac Versions (Curetonian and Sinaitic), which here agree exactly with the Hebrew. They are not based, as Burkitt says (*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, i. 134 *n.*), on the Syriac of Deut. vi. 5, for the New Testament Versions render מאד differently from the Syriac of Deut. vi. 5. The Latin Codex Germanensis gives only two clauses, *in toto corde tuo et in toto anima tua.*

lators so translated the Hebrew of Deuteronomy two hundred and fifty years before Christ. The mind, therefore, is to find its full expression in our love to God. Now what does this mean ? It means clearly this : that God asks us to use our minds in dealing with our religious beliefs and conduct, and not only with our religious beliefs and conduct, but also with all His works so far as they come within our ken. For the worlds of thought and science have made indispensable contributions to our theology, and will no doubt make many more. To mental, moral, and natural science, to Biblical and historical research and criticism, we are indebted for the chief advances made by theology during the last three centuries. Had there been no such contributions of the mind to religion, we should now most probably have a shrunken, narrow, and fanatical Church, worshipping a being whom it would be wrong to imitate, a god whom none but the most irrational of his devotees could stoop to love. Where piety is not stifled by forms and the Divine light is not eclipsed through the traditions of men, it is owing to the right use of the mind in religious questions. Obscurantist views of the Old and New Testaments made it impossible for the best scientists of the last generation to be members of the Christian Church. It is true that even in that generation there were great scientists who were also Christians, like Faraday and others ; but such men could only maintain their allegiance to their narrow conceptions of Christianity by keeping their theological and scientific beliefs in separate watertight compartments. But happily that evil period is past, when religion and science were thought to be antagonistic to each other. True science was, and is, antagonistic to bad theology, but true science was never antagonistic to true religion. Even nowadays there are multitudes of men who shrink from applying their minds to their theological

beliefs lest they should be disturbed regarding them, or even be forced to disown them. Surely the creed that cannot bear investigation is in a perilous condition, and can never be a source of strength to a man, in the hour when he needs it most. Such a man fears to think lest he should cease to believe. There are, it is true, certain beliefs, in some or all of the Christian Churches, that cannot but give just cause for such misgiving and distrust. But these beliefs are mainly the traditions of the elders, survivals from the dark ages. What we suffer from is the lack of thorough and fearless investigation. The more men learn to know Christ, the more irresistibly are they attracted to Him as verily and indeed man, and also as the unique and eternal Son of God. And through Christ men learn to know and love God as their Father, and *they* love Him best who seek to know Him with all their powers.

There are, no doubt, ignorant men who in truth, purity, and goodness reflect wondrously the life of Christ, and in their humility enjoy the unbroken sunshine of His Presence. And yet none the less their ignorance detracts inevitably from their sainthood. For how frequently do ignorant saints, unconscious of their limitations, congratulate themselves on their freedom from all doubt. But this freedom from doubt, unless it is won in spiritual and intellectual strife, is generally the mark of an inferior and limited intelligence. Faith, if it is living, is ever advancing in its ideals, spiritual, moral, and intellectual. If it strives to be true to these, it is ever adventuring into the unknown, and making the unknown henceforth in some measure part and parcel of its own possessions.

The ignorant saint, moreover, is not always a humble saint. Indeed, only too often dogmatism, intolerance, and fanaticism follow closely in the wake of ignorance. To most

minds, therefore, learning and knowledge are helpful. For learning enables a man to get outside his own limited experience; it supplies him with ethical and spiritual standards transcending his highest attainment; it acquaints him with the goodness, the heroism, and saintliness of men far more highly gifted and far more faithful to their ideals than he is to his own. In fact, such knowledge cannot but humiliate every one of us alike morally and intellectually. But if learning is to be of this helpful nature, it must not be fettered from without, it must be free to go whithersoever God summons it; and so it must often go forth, not knowing whither it goeth. Without such freedom theological learning is but a mere bundle of barren facts and traditions, strung together by some artificial tie. And so such learning becomes the letter that killeth, not the spirit that giveth life. It confuses dogma with the essence of religion. But, as we are all aware, the theology of any particular period is nothing more than the intellectual expression of the religion of that period—if the religion of that period has the power of self-expression. It is changing and human, not permanent and Divine; it is at the best but things seen through a glass darkly, not truths as they shall be known more and more fully in the light of God's Presence. When learning is thus divorced from spiritual and intellectual liberty, it finds its main occupation in stereotyping the creeds and rituals of the past, whether of patristic or mediæval times, as though these creeds and forms were unalterable, final, and absolute; with its pretentious and arrogant erudition it would fashion God in the image of man—not transform man into the Image of God.

When a party within the Church has convinced itself that it possesses the truth, final and absolute, the next step it takes as a rule is to persecute and defame those who are

unable to agree with its own obscurantist views. Well it is, then, for the Church if those who withstand such obscurantism steadfastly hold their ground. Thoughtful and experienced souls must not abandon a great religion when it is battered and bruised by the storms of religious doubt, or when its spiritual existence is threatened with obscurantism and stagnation, materialism and death. If men of enlightened views and Christian life were to forsake the Church when they recognize the obsolete nature of some of its formularies, then the obsolete and untenable elements would be further strengthened, and reformation made an impossible task. The secession or expulsion of all progressive minds would convert the Church into a stagnant fen, into an intensive breeding-ground for mental and moral degenerates. Unless men of spiritual light and leading abide in the Church, it cannot be saved.

No Church, therefore, can be truly Catholic which lays the chief emphasis on the acceptance of certain intellectual formulas. This acceptance of tradition is what is called being orthodox. But, even if the tradition be true, the mere intellectual acceptance of it is of no service. If it were true, the very devils would be orthodox ; for according to St. James they believe.

Furthermore, Christ never intended men to accept tradition without the closest examination. Only the slavish mind accepts it without examination. Thus in John xv. 15 our Lord says : " No longer do I call you slaves ; for the slave knoweth not what his lord doeth : but I have called you friends ; for all things that I have heard from My Father, I have made known unto you." And St. Paul says : " Prove," or rather, " put all things to the test : hold fast that which is good or true." So far, then, as a Church lays the chief emphasis on the mere acceptance of intellectual

formulas, it is essentially irreligious, and such a wrong emphasis must ultimately issue in the claim to infallibility, in the absolute identification of dogma and religion; in other words, in the identification of a temporary and partial expression of religion—and that often of its least valid expression—with religion itself. We live, when we live truly, by the present inspiration of God's Spirit; our souls are guided and sustained by living truths. And such inspiration and guidance make each generation to a great extent a law to itself. If it belongs to the true succession of the Saints, it will be ever advancing onward and upward.

Though our subject is the first phrase of the first and great commandment, I must touch briefly on its two last phrases: "With all thy soul, and with all thy strength." "With all thy soul" may, for the present purpose, be taken to mean "with all thy affections." The religious emotions or affections must not waste themselves in self-indulgence. It is possible to possess these emotions and yet to have little or no sense of moral obligation, and to be all but destitute of the spiritual life. No one should congratulate himself on his religious raptures, unless these raptures are translated into right action. No right emotion is given to us by God to end in its own indulgence. If the generous affection, if the sense of gratitude, if the impulse of mercy and unselfishness, if the aspirations reaching forth to an ideal life in God, fail to lead us to undertake the spiritual tasks in which they were designed to find their fulfilment, then they are so much spiritual waste and serve only to corrupt the heart it was their sole purpose to enlarge and glorify.

Next, as regards the words "with all thy strength." The essence of this command is to love God with the will. Hence, it is the indispensable complement of the two commandments that precede it. We are to translate all the

truths, the leadings, and inspirations of God's Spirit into true and noble deeds, and make our lives transcripts of that of the Divine Master. We must address ourselves to all the tasks of life—its lowliest as well as its most sublime—in the spirit of an obedience that subdues all things unto itself. Our daily life is our religion. If we would be faithful therein, we must love God with all our will. Hence, the will can never be neutral. It cannot be neutral. It is perforce obliged to act, whether rightly or wrongly. For it is called upon from day to day, from hour to hour, to carry into the actual experience of life the truths that it has learnt apart from it. From the fulfilment of such tasks it can neither grant itself nor receive from others any dispensation. He that seeks the blessedness of religion can never escape the burdens and duties that religion lays upon him, and if he fulfils these, even in a very inadequate degree, that blessedness will be given to him in the generous measure of the Master, pressed down, shaken together, and running over.

One remark more, my brethren, before I close. Surely it is a fact of the most transcendent importance for the human race, that the command that was issued to Israel fully seven hundred years before the Christian era, and was acknowledged by Israel as constituting the supreme requirement of their faith, was exactly the command singled out by our Lord as the first and great commandment, not for Israel, but for all mankind. And now, two thousand years later, we Christians should feel, more intensely than ever, the obligation of fulfilling the first and great commandment—the first and great commandment in the order in which it is enunciated in the Old Testament and reinforced by our Lord in the New: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength."

So far as we fulfil this commandment we shall know the truth, and the truth shall make us free. Let us stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and let us not be again entangled in any yoke of bondage.

XIV

THE PROPHET JEREMIAH AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

XLV. 1 "The word that Jeremiah the Prophet spake unto Baruch
the son of Neriah . . . in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the
son of Josiah, king of Judah, saying:
2 Thus saith Yahweh[1] unto thee, O Baruch: Thou didst say:
3 Woe is me! Woe is me![2]
For Yahweh hath added sorrow to my pain.
I am weary with my groaning,
And as for rest I find it not.[3]
4 Thus saith Yahweh:
Behold that which I have built I must myself destroy,
And that which I have planted I must myself root up.[4]
5 And yet seekest thou great things for thyself?
Seek them not."

IN Jeremiah we have one of the greatest personalities in all the Old Testament, if we are to measure a man by the ideas and forces he sets in motion. No character in Old Testament story had such diverse experiences as Jeremiah, and amongst the great prophets of Israel there was none who prepared for such catastrophic changes, ethical and spiritual, alike in the individual and the nation. He came at the close of the first great period of Israel's history, when

[1] Hebrew adds, "the God of Israel."
[2] So Greek Version.
[3] Text adds inconsistently with ver. 2: "Thus shalt thou say unto him.
[4] Hebrew adds against LXX: "even this whole land."

the religious conceptions of the past, having largely lost their truth and power, had become mere traditions and effete beliefs, to which a decadent people still clung in its despair. The old covenant was passing away amid the debacle of the nation and of all that had been most noble and revered in the past. That a new covenant and with it a transformation of their religious conceptions were given to Israel, and not only to Israel but to all mankind, was due to this most notable of all the later prophets. Like all the prophets, he had a profound consciousness of God's dealing directly with him as an individual. In a certain sense he was truly a man of his own time, and most probably in his earlier days an unquestioning disciple of the traditions of his people. But in the process of years, as he came to know the character of his countrymen, and, still more, because his life and thoughts were shaped more and more by his deep personal communion with God, he was forced to adopt a severely critical attitude, not only to the politics of the conflicting parties of the nation, but to the religious traditions and ritual which were universally accepted in his day. Naturally he endured persecution and reproach ; for he delivered a message that ran counter to the expectations alike of the court, the priesthood, and the people, a message that they hated and refused to hear alike from the standpoint of their politics and of their traditional faith.

It was from no self-conscious superiority in insight and judgment that Jeremiah adopted single-handed an attitude of opposition to the thought and religion of his time. For there was not one amongst the roll of Israel's saints and heroes who thought so humbly of himself and was so disinclined to take the field and face the national and religious difficulties of his people, though alike in spiritual experience and mental vision there was none so uniquely fitted for the task as he.

In Jeremiah we have the combination of unique gifts and unique humility. The more thoroughly we study the combined greatness and humility of the man, the better shall we realize how effectively the words he addressed to Baruch must have struck home:

> "Seekest thou great things for thyself?
> Seek them not."

Jeremiah, though first and lastly a prophet, was also a priest, and lived at Anathoth, about three miles north of Jerusalem. Living so close to Jerusalem, no political or religious movement within that city could escape his knowledge. He was born about the year 650 B.C., and some twenty-three years later he began to take an active though very reluctant part in the history of his people; for he was not a man of the stern stuff of an Elijah or an Isaiah, but essentially a man of peace, a thinker and mystic, and not a man of action or contention. Accordingly, when the word of God came to him, bidding him go forth and prophesy to a rebellious people, he shrank back from the task, saying: "Ah, Lord Yahweh! behold, I cannot speak: for I am a child" (i. 6). But the Divine answer admitted of no refusal: "Say not, I am a child: for whithersoever I send thee thou shalt go, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak. Be not afraid because of them: for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord" (i. 7–9). This reluctance to face the storm and stress of public life never left Jeremiah. His nature was supremely sensitive. He desired neither place nor power, but simply to serve God unobtrusively and in the background. And yet throughout his life it was his destiny ever to be in the forefront of the battle and in the centre of the storm. When he would have retired into seclusion the word came: "Be not dismayed because of them, lest I dismay thee before

them. Behold, I have made thee this day a fenced city,[1] and brazen walls against the whole land" (i. 17–18). Acutely conscious then of the perils confronting him and of his own weakness, Jeremiah complains:

> "Why is my pain perpetual,
> My wound past healing?" (xv. 18.)

Jeremiah feels intensely his isolation amongst his countrymen. He is cut off not only from their common joys, in which he would have gladly shared, but even from the ordinary courtesies of life. He is overwhelmed with the iniquities of his people, and in his grief cries out:

> "Under the pressure of Thy hand I have sat alone,
> And Thou hast appointed me to proclaim (only Thine) indignation."
> (xv. 17; cf. vi. 11.)

When a man is endowed by God with the highest spiritual gifts as well as with a deeper fount of love than his fellows, these high gifts, if he uses them aright, are inevitably attended by a nemesis that he cannot escape, and this is, that in all their afflictions he, too, must be afflicted. To its last dregs such a man must drink the cup of the Lord's wrath upon his faithless countrymen: he must suffer with them every woe that their faithlessness entails, even national overthrow, captivity, and the death that he sees inexorably impending.

The experience of Jeremiah was not unique. From time to time in the history of mankind, when materialism seems triumphant, when morals and high ideals seem on the very verge of extinction, when the Churches, with their traditional teaching and external rituals, betray their incapacity to confront the evils that menace the very existence of humanity, the innate powers of spiritual religion are nowhere so strikingly manifested than in the fact that, when

[1] Hebrew against LXX adds, "and an iron pillar."

all seems lost, some individual breaks with the established traditions of the time, and, obedient to the Divine voice speaking within him, calls on his fellow-countrymen to follow him as he enters on paths that neither they nor their fathers knew. This spiritual originality and independence in things religious have been constant factors in the true spiritual progress of man, and in no character in Old Testament history did they exhibit themselves so vitally and so intensely as in that of Jeremiah.

His prophecies necessarily brought him into conflict—repeatedly with the professional prophets, always with the priests, and generally with the princes and people. Even his brethren and his father's house betrayed him (xii. 6), and his former friends and neighbours in the hamlet of Anathoth sought his life (xi. 21). And yet, when the command came, Jeremiah, regardless of consequences, proclaimed his message alike in crowded marts, in the Temple courts, and in the royal presence; and frequently, above the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, rose his notes of warning and denunciation, with presages of coming doom. Since he loved his people with all the powers of his sensitive nature, is it strange that under the burden of his dread calling he exclaimed:

> "Woe is me, my mother,
> That thou hast borne me,
> (To be) a man of strife and a man of contention
> To the whole land . . .
> Every one of them doth curse me"? (xv. 10.)

Elsewhere a still deeper consciousness of the grievousness of his lot finds expression:

> "Cursed be the day
> Whereon I was born.
> The day that my mother bare me—
> May it be unblessed." (xx. 14.)

When such thoughts for the time gained the upper hand and Jeremiah sought relief in silence, it was but for a time: for soon his heart grew hot within him, the fire kindled, and he delivered the Divine message at whatever cost to his feelings or peril to his life. Thus he writes:

"If I would say,
I will no longer mention [the name of the Lord],[1]
I will no longer speak in His name,
Then there is as it were a burning fire in my heart,
An agony[2] in my bones:
But I am worn away with suppressing (His word).
I can no longer [endure it].[3] (xx. 9.)

Throughout the forty and one years during which his prophetic activities lasted, his inner experiences were such as those described in the verses I have read. More than any of his contemporaries he loved his people, and it was just this love that made his task so bitter; for, as we shall see, he had to break with the religious authorities of his time: he had to denounce King Jehoiakim, the politicians, prophets, priests, the Temple sacrifices, and to proclaim the coming destruction alike of the Temple and of the Sacred City. Thus, more and more solitary became the path he pursued, till at last there attended on him apparently only one true friend, the Scribe Baruch. But the work of the prophet was not wholly destructive: nay, it was in still greater measure constructive, and that in a larger degree than had been that of any of the prophets, or indeed of all the prophets combined, that preceded him. Jeremiah was appointed by God to lay the foundations of a nobler religion, to rescue from the wreck of what was truest and most essential in the past, the best, if shattered, elements of

[1] So LXX. Hebrew reads "him."
[2] Reading עֹנֶב with Cornill instead for עֵצֶר.
[3] So LXX. Hebrew omits.

Israel's faith, and to reweld them into truths new and undreamt of by any of Israel's former saints and prophets.

As we advance we shall see that Jeremiah was not only the greatest modernist of his time, but nearly of all time. But alas for the tragedy of it all! Jeremiah died before a single one of the spiritual reforms he advocated was adopted by his people. For his own generation his life's sacrifice was not of the least avail: and of the new truths he sowed in the hearts of the nation, not one sprang into being in his lifetime. Surely he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, and as such he appeared to the generation that followed; for there can hardly be any doubt that it was Jeremiah's tragic figure and none other that suggested the conception of the Suffering Servant of the Lord—and no longer an individual, but the righteous remnant of the nation—to the great unknown prophet of some generations later—the so-called second Isaiah. Alike in his spiritual loneliness, in his intense love for his people, and his essential identification of his life with theirs in all their griefs and afflictions and sins, he showed himself the truest forerunner of Christ among the prophets. And yet, though he saw no fruit from the travail of his soul in his lifetime, not one of his sacrifices proved in the end to be unavailing. His spiritual disappointments and sufferings were the crucible in which the finest powers and aspirations of the prophet reached their perfectionment. These found expression alike in the touching lyrics and lofty prose that have secured for him a leading position in the world of Hebrew prose and poetry. In the province of Hebrew poetry his importance is tersely described by Wellhausen in the words: "Without Jeremiah the Psalms could not have been composed." [1]

But our present interest in Jeremiah is not in his inspiring

[1] *Israelitische und Jüdische Gesch.*[3], p. 144.

lead in the province of Hebrew literature, but in his contributions to the world of spiritual thought and life. Hence, we must give our closest attention to the book that bears his name and contains his teaching. Here we are at once confronted with extraordinary difficulties; for we discover as we study it that hardly any book in the Old Testament save Daniel has suffered so much at the hands of editors, compilers, and interpolators. The original book of Jeremiah shared in some measure the evil fortunes of the prophet himself.

In its earliest form it consisted of the prophecies of Jeremiah down to 604 B.C. These were written down by Baruch at the dictation of Jeremiah, and are reproduced in the first person.[1] Next to these prophecies were added the Memoirs of Baruch,[2] in which Jeremiah is represented as speaking in the third person save in three chapters, xxiv., xxviii., xxxii. (except in xxxii. 1–5). In the book which thus dealt directly or indirectly with the life and prophecies of Jeremiah, later scribes incorporated the oracles of many unknown prophets who lived from one to several generations after Jeremiah's death. The work is therefore composite. It was not at first edited by Jeremiah, and then subsequently enlarged and published once and for all by some unknown editor. It underwent continual expansion and revision down to 200 B.C. At this date it had developed into two forms, one of which is preserved in the Greek Version of that date, and the other mainly in the Hebrew text. But even after 200 B.C. the Hebrew text received editorial additions, and this process continued, till the Hebrew text became one-

[1] According to Cornill, i., xi., xiii., xviii., xxiv., xxxii., xxxv. These are in first person. *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. xxxix.

[2] According to Cornill, p. xlii *sqq.*, these consisted of xix.–xx. 6, xxvi., xxxvi., xlv., xxix., xxvii.–xxviii., li. 59–64, xxi. 1–10, xxxvii. 3–10, xxxiv. 8–22, xxxvii. 12–44.

eighth longer than the Greek Version of 200 B.C. But this is not all. The fifty-second, that is, the last chapter of Jeremiah, is an appendix, which was copied word for word from 2 Kings xxiv. 18–xxv.[1] The disorder of both texts of Jeremiah is great, but particularly that of the Hebrew text.

Chapters xlvi.–li. of the Hebrew text should be restored in accordance with the Greek Version immediately after xxix. 13–15. This is their right position. The grounds advanced in support of the Greek order are irrefutable.[2]

When we excise wholly chapter lii. as an addition made after 200 B.C., and restore chapters xlvi.–li. to their original context in the heart of xxix., we recover the book more or less in the order in which Baruch edited it,[3] though it is much larger than when it left his hands. Having done so, we discover that the original work ended with what we call chapter xlv. in the English translation.

Now, in putting these facts before you I have not asked you to give your attention to a mere question of scholarship. The position of xlv. as the last chapter of Jeremiah is full of significance. Chronologically it is out of place. It was written in the year 604—that is, nearly twenty years before the events recorded in the chapter immediately following it. But this is not an accident. Baruch deliberately relegated it to the close of the book. For the prophecy in this chapter dealt with himself, with his personal aims and ambitions, and not with the nation. To Baruch, broken-hearted by the dread catastrophes which Jeremiah in chapter xxxvi. had declared were in store for his people and therefore for himself, are directed the words, "Seekest thou great

[1] Jer. lii. 28–30 is not found in the Greek of 2 Kings xxv., and is, therefore, probably an addition subsequent to 200 B.C.

[2] See Thackeray, *Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, pp. 28–37; G. A. Smith, *Jeremiah*, pp. 14–15 notes.

[3] There are additions throughout the entire book.

things for thyself? Seek them not." With the modesty of true greatness that had learnt its task, Baruch adjourns this oracle to the close of the book. As a highly gifted man of noble lineage Baruch had no doubt many personal ambitions. But in obedience to the oracle he had received in 604 he put all these ambitions aside, and gave himself up wholly to the service of his great master. With him he shared all his trials from 604 down to their captivity in Egypt nearly twenty years later. After this date, both the great prophet and his disciple disappear wholly from human knowledge. Possibly they were martyred by their own countrymen, as a late tradition reports.

XV

JEREMIAH'S PROPHECIES OF GOD'S TASK

XLV. 1 "The word that Jeremiah the Prophet spake unto Baruch
the son of Neriah . . . in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the
son of Josiah, king of Judah, saying:
2 Thus saith Yahweh[1] unto thee, O Baruch: Thou didst say:
3 Woe is me! Woe is me![2]
For Yahweh hath added sorrow to my pain.
I am weary with my groaning,
And as for rest I find it not.[3]
4 Thus saith Yahweh:
Behold that which I have built I must myself destroy,
And that which I have planted I must myself root up.[4]
5 And yet seekest thou great things for thyself?
Seek them not."

ON the last Sunday of April, I preached a sermon on Jeremiah and on the Book of Jeremiah as an introduction to the course of sermons which I hope to preach this month. I cannot here give even a résumé of that sermon, but I must recall a few of the chief conclusions of modern scholarship in order to make the sermons that follow more intelligible. The Book of Jeremiah in its earliest form consisted of the prophecies dictated by Jeremiah to Baruch and inscribed by Baruch on a roll, about the year 604 B.C. These are reproduced in the first person. Next

[1] Hebrew adds, "the God of Israel."
[2] So Greek. Hebrew omits the repetition.
[3] Text adds, inconsistently with verse 2, "Thus shalt thou say unto him"
[4] Hebrew adds, against Greek, "even this whole land."

to these prophecies were added the Memoirs of Baruch, in which Jeremiah is represented as speaking in the third person save in xxiv., xxviii., xxxii. (except xxxii. 1–5). Oracles of later prophets were subsequently incorporated in this work, and the book underwent continual revision and expansion down to 200 B.C., when it was translated into Greek, and to a much later period, when it assumed in Hebrew the form it now has in our English Bible. Thus the Hebrew text became in due course one-eighth longer than the Greek Version. One obvious editorial addition is the last chapter of Jeremiah, which is borrowed verse by verse from the last two chapters of 2 Kings.

Again, the order of the Hebrew text, which is that of our English Version, is wrong. Chapters xlvi.–li., though for the most part of later origin, should be restored to their original position in the heart of chapter xxv. Thus we recover the order of the book as it existed early in the fifth century or at the close of the sixth, and find that chapter xlv., which I have chosen for my text, is really the last chapter of the book—a position which it still preserves in the Greek Version.

Let us now turn to Jeremiah himself, and his relation to the reformation of Josiah and his teaching. In the former sermon we saw that the Book of Jeremiah represents Jeremiah as a failure from start to finish alike in his own opinion and in that of his contemporaries. More and more solitary became the path the prophet pursued. Alike the priests, the court, the people, the school of the prophets, declared against him. At last he could reckon on only one friend, the Scribe Baruch.

But after his death, hardly had two generations passed away, when the figure of this great prophet began at once to quicken and capture the imagination of the nobler teachers of later times—as, for instance, that of the Second Isaiah,

who draws many of the chief features of the Suffering Servant of Yahweh from the teaching and experiences of Jeremiah. Furthermore, the greater part of the Psalter is impregnated with Jeremiah's spirit, and so it is not strange that, when we come down to the second century before Christ, we discover that Jeremiah was already then regarded by the people at large as the Patron Saint of Israel. This fact is attested by an incident in the life of Judas Maccabæus. According to 2 Macc. xv., Judas Maccabæus had a notable dream before his last great and crowning victory over the huge forces of Syria. In this dream, which he told in the stirring appeal he made to his troops before he engaged with the enemy, he saw a resplendent being of lofty stature and commanding presence, and with hair white as driven snow. This being, described in the dream as "the lover of his brethren and the intercessor for his people and the Holy City," was none other than Jeremiah, who, grasping in his right hand a golden sword, thus addressed Judas, the intrepid warrior prince: "Take this holy sword as a gift from God, and with it thou shalt crush the foe." Still later, in the first century of the Christian era, we learn from Matthew (xvi. 14) that some of the people identified Christ with Jeremiah, whose return to earth they expected.

Thus Jeremiah was not the failure he felt himself to be. In fact, he was not a failure at all in the true sense of the word. It is not the man who fails in his ideals, but the man who realizes low ideals, that is generally the worst of failures. Failure in some measure is the inevitable experience of all men who try to realize high moral and spiritual ideals. But failure with such men is only a challenge to greater and more unselfish effort, and becomes the starting-point for ever nobler enterprise. Their very failures are the best discipline of heaven. And so it was in Jeremiah's case.

In the eyes of his contemporaries he was a sheer failure, but with every century that followed, down to the close of the first century of the Christian era, grew his people's recognition of his matchless insight as a prophet, his absolute disinterestedness, and his persistent loyalty to God: in short, of the inherent greatness of character which he possessed, and that in a measure practically without a parallel in the Old Testament.

But, even so, Judaism failed to recognize the transcendent greatness of this prophet, and it is only within the last two generations that scholars in this and other countries have begun to do so.

Returning from this necessary digression on the gradual formation of the Book of Jeremiah, and Jeremiah's inherent greatness of character, we must now address ourselves more directly to our subject and consider the share that Jeremiah took in the religious movements of his time.

As we have already remarked, his prophetic activities began about 627 B.C. He must, therefore, have been well acquainted with the discovery of the Book of Deuteronomy[1] a few years later, in 621 B.C.—a date which, it is true, has been recently disputed, but apparently on inadequate grounds. Deuteronomy was a fresh codification of older laws in the spirit of the eighth-century prophets. It contains, in fact, two covenants: a spiritual covenant and a ritual covenant. As a spiritual covenant it breathes the moral intensity of Amos and Isaiah and the tenderness of Hosea, and, like the last prophet, it seeks to awaken man's devotion to God and the love of each man to his neighbour in Israel. There is, indeed, no consideration shown to the nations outside Israel. Notwithstanding, for Israel it was essentially a

[1] Our present Book of Deuteronomy is based on two editions of the same original. The marks of compilation and redaction are many.

spiritual covenant. But the presence of this spiritual covenant in Deuteronomy must not lead us to ignore the fact that it lays an equal emphasis on a ritual covenant—that is, on a prescribed ritual with only one altar and a definite sacrificial system. This co-ordination of the spiritual and ritual covenants was a dangerous experiment. It begat in the popular mind a superstitious trust in the ritual covenant, and the perils of such a trust were realized to the full within the limits of the same generation.

We shall not be surprised, therefore, that Jeremiah's attitude towards Deuteronomy was partly favourable, and, as we shall see, partly and definitely unfavourable.

The Book of Deuteronomy was at once adopted by the young King Josiah and the nation as a whole, and the ritual reforms it required were forthwith carried into effect, and that with extreme violence. The aim of these reforms was that there should be only one Temple and one altar, and one regulated order of sacrifices, and that accordingly the high places and all other altars should be destroyed, and that the priests that ministered at these altars should be brought up to Jerusalem to render service there as Levites in the Temple. With these ritual reforms Jeremiah must have been in sympathy, in the hope that the worship of God might thereby be purified from the corruptions of the neighbouring pagan religions, but on the whole he took no part in the reformation of Josiah. His rôle was to be quite a different one. He was to stand aloof and with detached mind to observe the results of this reformation in Judah, and in accordance with these pronounce judgment alike on priest and prophet, on king and people. He was to test the moral worth of this reformation during these years of outward security, and as a master foreman at the moral mint, to assay the spiritual ore of which it was composed. The

metaphor is Jeremiah's own. It is drawn from the laboratory, where gold and silver are tested or assayed, and the words addressed to the prophet are :

> " An assayer for my people have I made thee
> To know and assay their ways,
> But in vain doth the smelter smelt :
> Their dross is not drawn away.
> Reprobate silver men call them,
> For Yahweh hath refused them." [1] (vi. 27, 29.)

As the result of this testing of the people, Jeremiah at first felt and then came to recognize clearly that Josiah's reformation was superficial, though it had done away with the high places and provincial altars. It was at the best a religion of ritual, a thing of services and sacrifices that failed to touch the deeper moral evils within the life of the nation. And so the kingdom of Judah was doomed.

The attempt at reform came too late ; and the nature of the reformation was not such as the nation needed. It was mainly an organized system of ceremonial and sacrifices. Notwithstanding, Jeremiah, still hoping against hope, fulminated prophecy after prophecy against its apostasy. But with the death of Josiah at the battle of Megiddo in 608, the hour of hope was past. Jeremiah's vaticinations were fulfilled to the full.

The reformation initiated by Josiah ended in inevitable failure alike spiritually and materially—an unmistakable commentary on the value of an organized system of ceremonial and sacrifices, unless preceded and accompanied by a real change of heart.

The tragedies in the religious history of Israel in the time of Josiah have been of frequent occurrence in the history of mankind at large. When men fail to meet the

[1] So, in the main, G. A. Smith renders.

claims of the growing revelation of God, when they refuse to use their spiritual and mental energies in the fulfilment of the truths they do know, and likewise abandon the quest of still higher truths and goodness than they have yet attained, then a dread reaction must set in. The higher life must be inevitably narrowed, debased, and darkened till, whether men reject or retain the outward observances of religion, they lose its real essence. With those who reject religion as in Russia, and blaspheme all that is of worth and value in life, we are not here immediately concerned, save to remark that in the hearts of Russian Bolshevist and international Communist there are enthroned the twin infamies of lust and hate—which are the offspring of what Plato calls the lie in the soul.

We are now concerned rather with those who pay an outward or even a passionate respect for religion, but with a zeal without knowledge. In such cases souls are perverted by the very religion they profess. They do not become more sincere, generous, magnanimous, brotherly through the creed they uphold. Nay, they develop in the contrary direction. Instead of loving more, they love less; they hate with greater bitterness and intensity than other men: and while they disparage natural virtues, they fail to secure supernatural graces: they esteem infinitesimal differences of rites and shades of doctrines above truth and equity and goodness, and treat as publicans and sinners those who diverge from them in such matters: in fact, they hate the sects and parties from whom they differ more than they love the religion they profess. Thus these men labour under a double curse. They cut themselves off alike from nature and from grace; from the healthy so-called virtues of paganism, and from the unworldly goodness and ideals of the Christian faith. Is it any wonder that there is begotten

in them the hate of hate, the spirit of the persecutor in its worst form? And yet it was just this hate of hate in connection with religion that both Jeremiah and Baruch witnessed, when the youthful King Josiah, under the guidance of his religious advisers, initiated the first direct persecution for religion in the kingdom of Judah. Down to Josiah's time this unhappy distinction had belonged to the half-pagan King Manasseh. But, if we can trust the account in 2 Kings, Josiah, aflame with the spirit of persecution, not only slew the priests of the high places on their own altars, but dug up the bones of the dead priests and prophets and burnt them. And yet this savage practice had already been denounced by Amos (ii. 1–2) more than a hundred years before Josiah's time. Notwithstanding, the evil example of Josiah bore evil fruit in after times, and was cited in the Fifth General Council as a sanction for anathematizing the dead. Persecution of the dead thus effected its entrance into the Christian Church, and so, in this dear land of ours, the body of Wycliffe was dug up and burnt by a decree of the Council of Constance and of Pope Martin v. (1428).

To the credit of Charles v. of Germany it must be stated that, notwithstanding the urgency of the Church of Rome, he refused to disinter the body of Luther and treat it in the same fashion. Standing by the grave of the great Reformer, whither the papal emissaries had induced him to come, he paused in thought for some time, and then turning round declared in truly royal words, "I do not war with the dead." Alas, to the eternal discredit of one of the most despicable of the Stuart Kings, the body of the great Protector was disinterred from its resting-place in this great Abbey Church and then destroyed. Contrast in a sentence the respective services of the two men to the nation. On the one hand, Cromwell made England for the time the most feared and

formidable power in Europe: Charles the Second, on the other, betrayed it to France, and was paid by the French King in money and mistresses for his treachery. This savage practice, this "hatred carried beyond the grave," Dr. Pusey brands as a hatred "which the heathen, too, held to be unnatural in its implacableness and its uncharitableness—a hatred which is a sort of impotent grasping at eternal vengeance [1]—a hatred which, having no power to work any real vengeance, has no object but to show its hatred."

And yet the most recent historian of the Abbey designates January 30, 1661, the day on which the bodies of Cromwell and his friends were disinterred and dishonoured, as "a memorable anniversary," and closes the paragraph in which this worse than heathen—this diabolical—outrage was perpetrated by the simple but awful words expressive of his approbation: "So was the Church purged." [2]

After Josiah's death, in the fourth year of the reign of his son Jehoiakim—that is, the year 604 B.C.—Jeremiah was bidden to take a roll (xxxvi. 1 *sqq.*) and write therein all the words God had spoken to him during the past three-and-twenty years against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations. "Then Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah; and Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the Lord, which He had spoken unto him, upon a roll of a book" (xxxvi. 4). It would appear that it was at this date that Baruch was first associated with Jeremiah, seeing that the prophet had to dictate to him all his earlier prophecies.[3]

[1] See his note on Amos. ii. 1, quoted by Stanley.

[2] Westlake, *Westminster Abbey*, i. 257, London, 1923.

[3] In these earlier prophecies and narratives down to 604, Jeremiah speaks in the first person; but from this date onward, with the exception of chapters xxiv., xxviii., xxxii. (barring xxxii. 1–5), the prophet is represented as speaking in the third.

When this roll was completed, Baruch was so overcome by its contents, which foretold nothing but lamentation and mourning and woe for Israel, that he cried aloud in his despair. The words of his lamentation are found in chapter xlv., which chronologically should, as we have already pointed out, follow immediately after chapter xxxvi. :

> "Woe is me! Woe is me!
> For Yahweh hath added sorrow to my pain:
> I am weary with my groaning,
> And as for rest I find it not."

Now to Baruch, in the grip of his despair, Jeremiah might have appealed by dwelling on the incomparably greater grievousness of his own lot during the past score of years. He might have urged: In fulfilling the duty which God has made my task, I have drawn upon me the hostility of the entire priesthood; I have alienated the prophets; I have lost the support alike of the princes and the people; the king is my inveterate foe and wishes to take away my life. Even my own family have turned against me: my own townsfolk have sought to slay me. But instead of appealing, as he might well have done, to his own example by way of encouraging Baruch to a spirit of resolute faithfulness, Jeremiah adopts another course and brings before the mind of his despairing disciple the example of God Himself. And the thoughts he expresses on this question are the boldest in all the Old Testament. In fact, they stand alone without a parallel either in the Old Testament or in the New.

What might be quoted as a parallel from the later Isaiah, "In all their affliction He was afflicted" (lxiii. 9), is the rendering of an untrustworthy text. The ancient Greek and Syriac Versions, the Vulgate, and even the Jewish Targum, are against it. It is based on a late Hebrew emendation, and this emendation appears as the chief reading

only in a limited number of Hebrew MSS. The original text in Isaiah may have been, "In all their adversity he was not [1] an adversary"—a much lower conception than that of the corrupt text—"In all their affliction He was afflicted." Let us now return to the form that this thought assumed in the earlier and greater prophet. It is startling in the extreme. The message of God, through the prophet to Baruch, was just this: Thou Baruch complainest of thy pain and grief because of the overthrow of thy hopes for thy people and thyself. Are not My pain and grief infinitely greater, in that I must destroy the very work of My own hands, of My thought and love? The message is set forth in the following words:

"Thus saith Yahweh:
Behold that which I have built I must myself destroy:
And that which I have planted I must myself root up."

Thus even God's designs are defeated by the rebellious wills and deliberate guilt of the children of men that He has created. In the face of God's confession of the temporary failure of His loving purposes in respect of His people, how could Baruch persist in his complainings and despair? He must be up and about his immediate tasks, and he must go on sowing the seed of Divine truth, though he might not live to see a single grain of it reach maturity. Not till God despairs of redeeming His children, may His servants indulge in moods and expressions that are but the fruit of personal ambitions or baffled selfishness, of overweening arrogance, of ignorance, or self-pity.

[1] *i.e.* אֵל, not לֹא as the late text reads. But even the second rendering is not supported fully by the versions, and is against the division of the strophes. The best scholars assign the phrase "from all their affliction," as it should be read, to the previous strophe. Then we have, "It was not a messenger or angel but His presence saved them."

These words, in which Jeremiah seeks to interpret the purposes and actions of God, though a confession of Divine failure, are yet full of unimaginable promise for the sons of men. They teach that God has as His aim the Divine education of the human race. However insignificant be the day of man's beginnings, it is the earnest of the greater things that are yet to be. The higher things do not come first and then the lower: the spiritual does not precede the natural. The keynote of creative evolution is progress: and it is God Himself that is guiding the process alike in nature and in man, pressing into the lives of the children He has created measures of intelligence, altruism, and spirituality, equal to and above their utmost capacity. In such a Divine Epic there must be tragedies, but these can only be temporary and partial. For where God is at work with His unwearying patience, His unfathomable goodness, His unquenchable love, as in the world of our humanity, failures may occur and disasters many and frequent, but final shipwreck and annihilation are things impossible.

This truth is recognized in these wondrous words of Jeremiah in a measure far beyond the prophet's own comprehension. Hence it is that we must not maintain, as it has often been maintained in the past, that man's noblest ideals are the last vestiges of a lost Eden, relics of the goodness and greatness that once actually belonged to him in some far-off and golden age. This is nothing short of a libel on God's creation, as the study of the development of religion in Israel, and above all as these words of Jeremiah as well as the facts of science, indubitably teach. Man's noblest hopes and ideals are not the relics of a nobler and golden age, but the foreshadowings of a nobleness and divineness yet to be: they are not the last rays of a sun setting to rise no more, but the dawning of a day whose glories shall never

wane. They are not mere reminiscences of a glorious but irrecoverable past, but the annunciation of a destiny divine beyond man's highest imaginings and charged with the intermingled splendours of goodness and beauty, of truth and love. In the recasting of our old beliefs through the incorporation of the new truths which are pressing themselves irresistibly on the mind of man, the highest truth in the purest religion of Israel is retained, but in a glorified form —and that is, the immediate communion of the soul with God, first enunciated by Jeremiah. And later still, in the adaptation of the Christian faith to the fresh discoveries of thought and science in the present age, we are but bringing into light the truths latent in the doctrines of the New Testament, and in some instances recovering the actual teaching of Christ, where it has been overlaid and distorted by the misleading traditions of later generations. The Divine education of the human race has gone on with what is, in man's eyes, an intolerable slowness; but the measure of its slowness is also the measure of its inevitableness, in which the great truths are being winnowed from the little, the eternal verities from the temporary, inadequate, and often false embodiments they had assumed in mediæval tradition. This separation cannot be effected without controversy and conflict, without the collision of disciplined thought and judgment with ignorance, prejudice, and passion, without many searchings of heart, without frequent failure and much pain and travail of soul.

But these experiences are not the agonies of a dying creed, but the throes and birthpangs of a new and larger faith; freer, indeed, from illusions, but yet far more earnest in its spiritual loyalties—in truth and humility, in goodness and in love—and claiming for its realization in its children the wide expanses of the eternal years.

XVI

JEREMIAH'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SPIRITUAL TRUTHS OF RELIGION

XLV. 2 "Thus saith Yahweh unto thee, O Baruch: Thou didst say:
3 Woe is me! Woe is me![1]
For Yahweh hath added sorrow to my pain.

I am weary with my groaning,
And as for rest I find it not.

4 Thus saith Yahweh:
Behold that which I have built I must myself destroy,
And that which I have planted I must myself root up.

5 And yet seekest thou great things for thyself?
Seek them not."

IT is my task in this and the next sermon to deal with the special contributions made by Jeremiah to the spiritual truths of Judaism and of the world at large, and some of these we shall find are directly antagonistic to the teaching of Deuteronomy, the book on which, according to most scholars, Josiah's reforms were based.

In the course of the first half of his prophetic career, Jeremiah had come to recognize the hollowness of the reformation under Josiah. Nay, more, he felt himself compelled to oppose uncompromisingly some of the teachings in

[1] So LXX.

Deuteronomy, and with these we shall now proceed to deal.

1. First of all, we observe in Deuteronomy that alongside a strong belief in the Unity and Sovereignty of God there are traces of a belief in other gods. Thus the author of Deuteronomy tells us that God has allotted the sun and moon and the host of heaven to the heathen[1] (Deut. iv. 19), that they may worship them, just as later (xxix. 26) he states that God has not allotted such gods to Israel. But in Jeremiah every trace of this superstition has vanished. God's presence is everywhere.

> "Am I not a God that is near . . .
> And not a God afar off? . . .
> Do I not fill heaven and earth?
> Saith Yahweh." (xxiii. 23–24.)

2. In the next place there is no mercy or compassion for other nations in Deuteronomy. Israel alone is the people of God, just as there is only one Temple and one altar. The heathen nations, according to Deuteronomy as well as the later book of Ezekiel, were to be excluded from God's presence and to rest for ever under the baleful shadow of His supremacy, at once omnipotent and pitiless. With such a view, Jeremiah's later teaching was in complete antagonism. From the transformation that the Jewish religion underwent through his teaching, it became in due course clear, as we shall see presently, that the first and nearest relation of God was not to be with this or that nation, but with the heart of every individual man, whether he belonged to Israel or not, and thence the conversion of the heathen followed as a matter of course.

[1] This belief survived in an attenuated form in the LXX of Deut. xxxii. 8–9; Sir. xvii. 17; Jubilees xv. 31, where the heathen deities have been transformed into angels.

Thus Jeremiah declares in xvi. 19–20 :

> " Yahweh, my strength and my stronghold,
> And my refuge in the day of need :
> To thee shall the nations come
> From the ends of the earth and say :
> Mere lies have been the heritage of our fathers,
> Vanity and things that profit nought :
> Can a man make unto himself gods,
> Which are yet no gods ? "

3. In Deuteronomy there is an equal emphasis laid on goodness and on ritual. Now to the spiritual teaching of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah gave his unconditional support. " Hear ye the words of this covenant," he declares in the name of Yahweh. " Thus saith Yahweh, the God of Israel : Cursed be the man that heareth not the words of this covenant,[1] which I commanded your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the iron furnace, saying, Obey My voice, and do them " (xi. 2–4). But to the ritual teaching Jeremiah could not attach any such value ; for it was just as easy for a man then, as it is now, to comply with the ritual demands of religion without forsaking even the least of his personal vices. But for a time this anomalous state of things escaped recognition on the part of the people ; for the fact that, during the first twelve years of Josiah's reformation, Judah was prosperous and had peace from external foes after one hundred years of strife and warfare, begat a superstitious confidence in the formal discharge of the Temple ritual.

The Temple services were thronged ; there were great pilgrimages from all parts of the kingdom to the sacred

[1] As G. A. Smith (*Jeremiah*, p. 145) writes : " In Josiah's reign what else could *this Covenant* mean than the Covenant set forth in the recently discovered Book of the Law ? "

city and its shrine (xxvi. 2), where the sacrifices and services were celebrated with unwonted splendour, though the moral character of the people was not one whit the better, but rather became steadily worse.

In an early poem of Jeremiah in the fifth chapter, written shortly before the great reformation initiated by Josiah, there is a grim picture of the immorality of Jerusalem. This poem represents probably the young prophet's first impressions of the capital. First of all it describes his experience of the trading and working classes, and his despair at their moral degradation:

> "Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem,
> And see now and know,
> And seek in the broad places thereof,
> If ye can find a man:
> If there be any that doeth justly,
> That seeketh the truth.[1]
> Yea, though they say, As Yahweh liveth,
> Assuredly they swear a lie." (v. 1–2.)

But though revolted by such experience, he reflects that these are but the ignorant masses, for whose souls no man cared: and so, in extenuation of their guilt, he writes:

> "Then I said: Surely these are poor:
> Therefore they are foolish;
> For they know not the way of Yahweh,
> The judgment of their God.
> I will get me to the great men:
> And with them will I speak;
> For they know the way of Yahweh,
> And the judgment of their God." (v. 4–5.)

So he turns to the enlightened classes, with the assurance that in them he would find the righteousness he sought.

[1] There follows here the clause in the Hebrew, "And I would forgive her" (an interpolation, as Duhm and other scholars recognize).

But in their case he made still more appalling discoveries. They indeed knew the will of Yahweh : yet they had thrown off every religious and moral restraint. They gave their allegiance to false gods, and went in troops to the harlots' houses.

If these impressions of Jeremiah preceded Josiah's reformation, as most probably they did, the denunciations in chapters vii.–ix. relate certainly to a later period, when the reformation of Josiah had been carried into effect. It is therefore of the men who had accepted Josiah's ritual reforms that Jeremiah speaks in the following scathing terms : " Will ye," Jeremiah asks, " will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely . . . and come and stand before Me in this house, which is called by My name ? " (vii. 9–10). The nation, Jeremiah declares, is corrupt, the victim of its own intolerable vices. No man can trust his brother : they slander every one his neighbour : they teach themselves to speak lies : they weary themselves in the pursuit of sin (ix. 4–5). Sensual profligacy, dishonesty, lying were not affected by the reforms of Josiah. Jeremiah's disillusionment had now become complete. The results of his disillusionment have been compared with those of Luther on his visit to Rome in the year 1510, memorable for its consequences for all after time. At no period of the Papacy was Rome more corrupt : and yet during this period of unnatural vice and profligacy the ceremonial and ritual requirements of the Mass were carried out with the greatest care. Thus in Jerusalem, as later in Rome, men revered the outward forms of religion and dishonoured its spiritual requirements in their hearts. Wherever any religion lays equal emphasis on the inner spiritual life and on outward ritual, the doom of that religion and of its professors is not far distant.

But Jeremiah does not only object to the equal emphasis that Deuteronomy places on the moral and ceremonial requirements. He goes much further. He distinctly asserts that whereas the moral laws came from God, the ceremonial and sacrificial were not of God's ordaining. As regards the former we read: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. . . . If ye thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbour, if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place . . . then will I cause you to dwell in this place . . . for evermore" (vii. 3, 5–7). But, in regard to the sacrifices, alike the whole burnt offerings which were entirely consumed by fire before God and the other sacrifices which were offered to God but eaten by the worshippers, Jeremiah speaks thus in the name of God: "Add your burnt offerings to your sacrifices and eat ye flesh" (vii. 21)—that is, Consume them both alike as you please; they are naught but mere flesh from the slaughter-house.

But, as I have already remarked, Jeremiah proceeds further. He declares that these sacrifices were not ordained of God. The words are: "For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in that day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I commanded them, saying, Hearken unto My voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be My people" (vii. 22–23). In these words it is definitely stated that the laws relating to sacrifice were not ordained by God, and just as definitely that the moral laws were so ordained. Now if these words stood alone and unsupported in the Old Testament, there might be some grounds for taking them as a rhetorical exaggeration of what Samuel meant when he said: "Obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken

than the fat of lambs." But this interpretation is wholly illegitimate. For exactly the same statements were implicitly made by Amos over a hundred years earlier, when Amos asks: "Did ye bring unto Me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?" (v. 25). This question is the equivalent of a direct negative. A few sentences earlier Amos thus passionately denounces the public worship of his day: "I hate, I despise your feasts: I can take no delight in your festivals:[1] and your sacrifices I cannot accept" (v. 21). What God required was not their solemn assemblies, their burnt offerings, and meat offerings, but that "judgment should roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream" (v. 24). Though Hosea does not deal with this question, he emphasizes the comparative worthlessness of sacrifices and burnt offerings. Thus in the sixth chapter he declares in God's name:

"I delight in goodness and not in sacrifice;
And in the knowledge of God and not in[2] burnt offerings."
(vi. 6.)

Again, in the preceding chapter, he speaks with scorn of the cult of sacrifice:

"They shall go with their flocks and with their herds
To seek Yahweh,
But their quest shall be in vain." (v. 6.)

But perhaps the strongest of all the prophetic denunciations of the Temple ritual in Jerusalem are to be found in the first chapter of Isaiah:

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me?
saith Yahweh.
I am sated with the burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed
beasts;

[1] Omit, with Duhm and other scholars, "Yea, though you offer burnt offerings."

[2] So Harper, Marti, Gesenius, Oxf. Hebr. Lex.

And in the blood of bullocks [1] and he-goats I delight not.
When ye come to see My face, who hath required this at your hand ?
Trample My courts no more :
The bringing of oblations is vain :
Incense is an abomination unto Me :
New moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies I cannot endure :
It is iniquity, even the solemn meeting . . .
They are a burden to Me : I am weary of bearing it.
Yea, when ye spread out your hands, I will hide Mine eyes from you :
Yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear :
Your hands are full of blood." (i. 11–15.)

With Amos' and Jeremiah's strong denials that sacrifice had been instituted by God, we might compare a like declaration in Micah, though the passage is probably later than Micah : " Will Yahweh be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil ? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good ; and what doth Yahweh require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God " (vi. 7–8). And as the prophets, so taught the psalmists : " In sacrifice and offering thou hast no delight. . . . Burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required " (xl. 6). And again, in a later psalm, God is represented as asking :

" Shall I eat the flesh of bulls,
Or drink the blood of goats ? " (l. 13.)

And again, in the psalm that follows :

" For Thou delightest not in sacrifice . . .
In burnt offering Thou hast no pleasure.
The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit :
A . . . contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise." (li. 16–17.)

[1] Hebrew against the LXX adds, " and of lambs." Duhm, Gray, etc., accept the LXX.

And what a succession of prophets and psalmists asserted or implied has in these later days been confirmed by historical research. Scholars have proved by such research that the sacrificial system of Israel had its origin before the days of Moses and the Exodus. It was part of the common heritage of the various Semitic nations, and not a unique system divinely instituted by God for ancient Israel.

The latest Oxford Commentator on Isaiah thus writes: "Sacrifice and many of the forms of religion Israel shared with the nations, and it is not the institution, but the repudiation, of sacrifice that distinguishes the religion of Israel." [1] This was the teaching of prophet and psalmist, and their contention has been confirmed as historically true by modern scholars beyond the possibility of dispute. But, returning to the prophetic period, the fact that sacrifices and burnt offerings were non-essential was established during the exile in Babylon by the persistence of religion in a higher form, and later after the destruction of the Second Temple. From the prophetic teaching we may conclude, firstly, that ceremonial sacrifices are of no importance in themselves—what counts in God's sight as important is a righteous life; and secondly that, *so far as sacrifices have any value at all, this value consists in their being an outward expression of the aspirations and longings of the contrite heart. Failing the presence of such desires, religious ceremonial, ritual and sacrifice, processions and pilgrimages are not only profitless, they are an abomination to God, whether in Christianity or in any other religion.* Such is the teaching of the prophets.

But history is constantly repeating itself, though the clash of opinions and parties is not always on the same level.

From the early times of the Church down through the dark and mediæval ages, the great central Sacrament of the

[1] Gray, *Isaiah*, i. 17.

Church has been approximating in character to that of the Jewish sacrifices, which were so strongly denounced by the prophets. From being the truest symbol of sacrifice alike in God and man, it has been debased into an external sacrifice, which is held to be effective in itself, just as were the pagan sacrifices of old; and it has been treated as an objective and unfailing means of pleasing and propitiating God, however unworthy the celebrant, however indifferent or debased the communicants.

The pagan character of such a conception has only to be stated in order to be recognized. But even this does not express the degradation of the Holy Communion in some churches. By the mere perfunctory celebration of this Sacrament by individuals, whose thoughts may be disinterested or mercenary, pure or stained with lust, changes are said to be wrought in the mind of God towards souls in the other world, and the period of their purgation shortened, just as though that purgation were an *arbitrary* requirement of God and not an absolute need of the individual soul, from which not even God Himself could grant dispensation without the earnest co-operation of such a soul. Can the debasement of religion be more abysmal? We have here a combination of two things for which the prophets condemned Israel of old—a superstitious reverence which has turned religious ceremonies into magical rites, and condoned thereby the worst breaches of God's law. The pagan or self-centred man would willingly have another suffer in his stead, another crucified that he might escape. But neither the ancient prophets nor the New Testament can for a moment allow of such an immoral conception. Christ, indeed, has been crucified for us—not that we may escape such suffering, but that we too may be crucified with Him. "I am crucified with Christ," writes St. Paul, "nevertheless

I live; yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). Christ has done all things—not that we may do nothing, but that we may do everything through Him, even as St. Paul declares, "I can do all things through Him that strengtheneth me." It is not an outward sacrifice that God requireth: it is the spiritual sacrifice of ourselves in thought and word and deed; so as to do God's will and grow up into the measure of the stature that He has designed for us from all eternity.

With this attitude towards the Temple sacrifices which he shared with the greatest prophets of Israel, Jeremiah necessarily changed his inherited views as to the value of the Temple itself, and broke in so doing with what was conceived to be the teaching of Isaiah. He denounces the people for their superstitious confidence in the presence of the Temple and its altar in their midst, and he declares that its destruction is at hand. Because they had it in their midst they were convinced that they were safe. They treated it as a kind of national fetish. The Temple, they held, could not be destroyed. Its inviolability, since Sennacherib's failure to seize Jerusalem, had become a dogma of the popular religion. But Jeremiah declares that all such trust is vain. "Trust not in lying words, saying, The Temple of Yahweh, the Temple of Yahweh, the Temple of Yahweh are these" (vii. 4). There is no hope for the nation unless they amend their ways. Hence, speaking in God's name, he asks them: "Will ye steal, murder, commit adultery, and swear falsely . . . and come and stand before Me in this house, which is called by My name, and say, We are delivered"—and delivered with what end in view—"only to do all these abominations?" (vii. 9–10).

So lightly do they in reality reverence the Temple that he asks: "Is this house, which is called by My name, become

a den of robbers in your eyes? . . . But go ye now unto My place which was in Shiloh, where aforetime I caused My name to dwell, and see what I did to it because of the wickedness of My people Israel. . . . So will I do unto the house, which is called by My name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh. And I will cast you out of My sight, as I have cast out all your brethren, even the whole seed of Ephraim" (vii. 11–15; cf. xxvi. 6).

It is not strange, therefore, that the priests and prophets and people leagued themselves together against Jeremiah to take away his life. What he had said in an earlier oracle is now nearer its accomplishment:

> "A wonderful and horrible thing is come to pass in the land:
> The prophets prophesy falsely,
> And the priests bear rule by their means;
> And My people love to have it so:
> And what will ye do in the end thereof?" (v. 30–31.)

XVII

JEREMIAH'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SPIRITUAL TRUTHS OF RELIGION

> "How say ye, We are the wise,
> And the law of Yahweh is with us?
> Lo, surely,[1] the false pen of the scribes
> Hath made (it) into a lie." JER. viii. 8.

IN the last sermon we dealt with the uncompromising attitude that Jeremiah had adopted towards Josiah's reforms: and how he had denounced the false conceptions that the people entertained of their rituals and sacrifices, as though these had been ordained by God Himself; and how he had pronounced the doom of the Sacred City and of the nation itself. But even so he had not yet exhausted the grounds of reprobation. He now proceeds to charge the scribes with falsifying the Law in the following words:

> "How say ye, We are wise,
> And the law of Yahweh is with us?
> Lo, surely, the false pen of the scribes
> Hath made (it) into a lie." (viii. 8.)

Some of the ablest scholars of the day have identified the Law of Yahweh here mentioned with the Book of

[1] The text has אכן הנה. Now, since as frequently אכן emphasizes a contrast, it might be rendered by "but in truth." הנה is difficult. It is omitted by the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. It is supported by the Targum. Could it possibly be a very early corruption for אתה = "it," *i.e.* the Law? Its emphatic position after אכן would then require some such rendering as: "But in truth even it the false pen of the scribes has fashioned into a lie." The missing object of the verb would be thus recovered.

Deuteronomy. But we must practise some reserve in this interpretation ; for we do not possess this book in its original orm. We can, however, recognize from this passage that a distinct breach had arisen between Jeremiah and the body of the scribes, and that the latter claimed that they possessed the Law of Yahweh in a written form, and that on the ground of this written tradition they withstood the prophet, as appears from the words I have just quoted.

If we identify the Law of Yahweh here with Deuteronomy, it is not unreasonable to ask, how far this book was affected by the falsification of the scribes ? Perhaps not beyond the chapters which maintained that the ritual law was ordained directly by God and was on the same level with the laws relating to personal righteousness, and that what was essential in religion could be realized through ritual and sacrifice. But the question is one with which we cannot deal further here.[1]

The next great truth taught by Jeremiah in terms that could not be misunderstood is one of which there is not even the faintest foreshadowing in the earlier prophets, in Deuteronomy, or even in the earlier prophecies of Jeremiah himself. Now, this new truth was that the individual as such was to be the religious unit—that is, the individual was to have direct access to God independently of priest or prophet.

With the failure of Josiah's reformation, and with the fast approaching and inevitable shipwreck of the State, to be followed by the destruction of the Temple and of the Sacred City, and by the exile of Judah, Jeremiah came to think less of the nation and more and more of the individual, and accordingly of the responsibilities and trusts devolving

[1] See *Marti Gesch. d. Israel. Rel.*[4], 1903, p. 154 ; Cornill, *Jeremiah*, 116-118 ; Duhm, *Jeremiah*, 88-89. G. A. Smith thinks that Jeremiah denounces here the early attempts to formulate the Priests' Code, p. 155.

on each individual soul, till at last he was inspired to enunciate the New Covenant which God would establish between Himself and the individual, by virtue of which the individual would step into the place of the nation in regard to God.

According to this new doctrine the individual and not the nation was to be the religious unit.

In the earlier revelations of the Will of God, the appeal was made to the conscience of the tribe, rather than to that of the individual. A certain solidarity existed between the individual and the members of his tribe as well as between the individual and his ancestors and descendants. This identification led to strange consequences. Thus it was thought reasonable for God to visit the sins of the fathers on the children, or the sins of an individual on all the members of his family, or of the entire community to which he belonged. Even the whole nation could be regarded as suffering for the sin of a single member of it. This principle of retribution caused no moral perplexity to the prophets of the eighth century. Their message was directed to the nation, and the judgment they proclaimed was collective punishment for collective guilt, as well as collective prosperity for collective righteousness. The individual was treated not as a personality with obligations and rights of his own, but merely as one of the many units that went to make up the nation. His experiences and destinies, moreover, were regarded as of no moment apart from those of the nation.

The individual, therefore, was regarded as having no right of direct access to God, but only through the prophet or priest. Under such circumstances the claims of the individual had not become a real moral problem till Jeremiah's time, but with the coming ruin of the State it could no longer be ignored. It received its first and partial

solution at the hands of Jeremiah. But he had first to demolish the wrong and dominant conception of the time on this subject.

Towards the close of the kingdom of Judah, the modern doctrine of heredity was expressed by the Jews in the proverb: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer. xxxi. 29). In this proverb Jeremiah's contemporaries denied their own responsibility in the overthrow of the nation. It was their fathers that had sinned, and they were involved as by an irrevocable fate in their guilt. Such a view naturally tended to paralyse all personal effort after righteousness, and made men the victims of despair. But in the same proverb there is also expressed, not a submission to the divine judgments, but rather an arraignment of God's method of government. The righteousness of the individual could not deliver him from the doom befalling the nation.

Now, in opposition to this popular statement of the law of responsibility, Jeremiah answers as follows: "The days come when they shall no more say, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity" (Jer. xxxi. 29, 30). In other words, about 600 years B.C., Jeremiah declared that the doctrine of heredity had not the far-reaching effects that science has till recently assigned to it.

How, then, are we to account for this new departure in his teaching? It is to be explained in part by a change of environment—to use another modern scientific term: from the new relation which God would establish in the coming days between Himself and the *individual Israelite*, which would supersede the old relation which had existed between *Himself and the nation as a whole.*

"31 Behold, the days come, saith Yahweh, that I will

make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah : 32 Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt ; which covenant they brake . . . 33 But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Yahweh ; I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it ; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people " (Jer. xxxi. 31–33).

Heretofore the individual had been related to Yahweh only as a member of the nation, and as such shared, whatever his nature and character, in the national judgments, and thus had no individual worth. The nation had been the unit. Henceforth the individual was to step into the place of the nation in its relation to Yahweh, and the individual would henceforth constitute the religious unit.

Under this new covenant man's spiritual incapacities for obedience to God's law would be removed ; for God would deal directly with the individual : He would write His law in his heart, and so beget a willing obedience. Jeremiah arrived at this conclusion from his own experience, his own relation to the law. To him the law was not an external commandment provoking opposition, but the word of God written in his heart, renewed from day to day, and evoking within him a passionate loyalty and obedience to God. His religious life was fed through constant communion with God. If, then, God so entered into communion with him, He would likewise in the coming time enter into a like relation with the individual members of the nation, and so redeem the nation by writing His law in their hearts (Jer. xxxi. 31–33)—an immediate relation would be established with each individual, such as God had already established with the prophet. Thus, in the face of the coming

exile, when the nation would cease to exist and only the individuals remain, Jeremiah was the first to conceive religion as the communion of the individual soul with God. Thereby each individual entered into the privileges of the prophet. This was the greatest advance made in religious thought and life since the time of Moses. And it was deeply needed. Men were blaming their fathers and their forefathers for their own failures and sins. Men are doing it at the present day, and ascribing their own corruption and vice to what science calls heredity. But it is a false imputation. Men may inherit predispositions to wrong-doing, but they do not inherit moral diseases which make a true life impossible. The whole tendency of modern scientific research is to prove that the importance of heredity has been grossly and groundlessly exaggerated. Men do not inherit pride, vanity, meanness, uncharitableness, bad temper in such measure as to make faithfulness to God impossible, any more than they inherit tuberculosis, intemperance, or sexual vices or perversions. It is true, indeed, that they inherit predispositions to moral and nervous diseases, but they do not inherit the diseases themselves. And yet a few years, or a few months, or even a few weeks in a diseased environment, may so quicken and mature these predispositions as to generate in their victims the moral and nervous diseases which did not belong to them congenitally. Hence a man's environment is a matter of supreme importance to him. Accordingly it is almost impossible to overrate the responsibilities of parents and guardians of the young. The parents provide the environment of the newborn soul. And this environment is of immeasurably greater importance than heredity. But it is likewise almost impossible to overrate the importance of a man's reaction to his environment. His environment may be the best that this world can supply,

and yet the man may fail to respond to it. If he does so fail, then his environment cannot help him. Ultimately, therefore, a man's character and destiny depend mainly on himself, that is, on the use he makes of his environment and heredity by virtue of the power of his will. As a Jewish writer of the first century of the Christian era well said: "Every man is the Adam of his own soul" (2 Bar. liv. 19). But this fact does not relieve his parents of their fearful responsibilities.

Sin springs from the action or the inaction of the will. This being so, sin in the true sense of the word cannot be inherited, nor can guilt attach to any individual before his will has become active. Hence, we can attach no real meaning to the phrase "original sin." If we retain it in use, we must define it as something that is not actual sin, but as a predisposition or tendency to sin which is normally inherent and universal in human nature. Since the will of the newborn individual has no part in the creation of his heredity, he is not immoral, and no guilt can attach to him as such. Throughout the Old Testament not a single writer connects the sinfulness of man with the fall of Adam. Jeremiah rightly traces sin to its seat in the perverted human will. In order to express his thought he coins a new phrase, "stubbornness of heart," a thing which is essentially due to man's wrong use of his will in opposition to what he knows or feels is right. Sin is traced to the individual's own wrong-doing, not to the fall of Adam. This is clear from his words in xiii. 23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good, that have taught yourselves to do evil." These words clearly teach that the Ethiopian is not answerable for his skin nor the leopard for his spots, but that man is answerable for his deliberate wrong-doing, for he has willed to do evil and accustomed himself to the doing of it. And that

this wrong use of his will has accompanied him in all the stages of his evolution, science is only too cognizant. Hence to the evolutionist sin is no sudden intrusion in man's development. It has accompanied every stage of it. In fact, sin is the survival, in a later and higher stage of development, of instincts and habits that belonged legitimately to an earlier stage of development, whether of the individual or of the race, and which were not in such earlier stages sinful. Their sinfulness consists in their being an anachronism, and in their resistance to the activities of the Spirit of God that is carrying forward the moral and spiritual development of the race. Thus, through Jeremiah the foundation of a true individualism was laid, and the law of individual retribution proclaimed. The further development of these ideas led inevitably to the conception of a blessed life beyond the grave.

Neither a nation *as a whole* nor even a remnant of it could receive an inward and spiritual renewal. Only one by one could its members be regenerated by their individual communion with the Spirit of God, and as men were detached one by one from the community of which they formed a part, the ancient idea that the nation as a whole formed the religious unit was displaced by the teaching of Jeremiah. But it does not follow necessarily, therefore, that the earlier conception of human life was untrue, because the latter is true. Nay, rather, the one conception is the complement of the other.

Another position that is maintained by Deuteronomy, and that is rightly called in question by Jeremiah, is that every man receives good or evil in exact accordance with his merits or demerits in this life. Retribution was to overtake the actual sinner (Deut. xxiv. 16) and not his family or community, nor was it to be reserved for his descendants, as had previously been the belief of Israel. Such was the teaching that came to the front at the close of the seventh

century, and became the orthodox dogma of Judaism for three or more centuries. The author of Job and other writers protested against the views of this school, which not only shut its eyes to the moral and spiritual difficulties involved, but also misstated the actual facts of human experience. This obscurantism was the logical result of the welding together of early Hebrew monotheism with a heathen eschatology. For, though Israel in the seventh century believed that there was only one God—perfectly Righteous and in power Infinite—it believed at the same time that, when a man died, his soul passed from under God's jurisdiction and went to a region called Sheol—a region in which moral distinctions were not observed, and from which the soul never escaped. Owing to this belief they necessarily concluded that, if God is righteous, and if there is no retribution in the life to come, a man must meet with his full deserts in this life, whether they were good or whether they were bad. In this life and in this only the righteousness of the righteous and the wickedness of the wicked must be recompensed to the full.

The undoubted element of truth in this teaching of Deuteronomy and other later Old Testament books won for it a general acceptance, and so long as the doctrine was regarded as a general statement and not applied strictly and definitely to the individual, its inherent viciousness escaped criticism.

But when Jeremiah emphasized the value of the individual as an individual, and declared that the individual had now taken the place of the nation as the religious unit—nay, more, that the individual as an individual was capable of direct communion with God and of doing His will, the falsity of the doctrine of Deuteronomy could no longer escape detection. That Jeremiah accordingly should reject the

teaching of Deuteronomy in this respect is only what we should expect. But Jeremiah's own solution of the problem was only a partial one. He was himself conscious of its inadequacy. For, as he must have argued with himself, since the New Covenant, though not yet established, is in its essence true, wherever it is realized, the individual, therefore, should be treated according to his deserts: hence, if the individual is righteous and enjoys communion with God, he should prosper, just as the wicked individual should be excluded from such communion by his own wickedness, and be visited with due retribution, and that in this life, since there are no retributions in the life to come. Thus a new problem emerges, and first becomes articulate in Jeremiah. Seeing that God is a righteous God, and a God who through the New Covenant admits the individual into immediate communion with Him, this difficult question could no longer be evaded. Why do the righteous suffer, and why do the wicked prosper?

This question sets not an academic, but a severely practical problem, for which no solution was found for some centuries later, though such great geniuses as the writers of Job and Ecclesiastes, and no doubt many another thinker, wrestled with it. As is befitting, Jeremiah states the problem in very modest terms:

> "Righteous art Thou, O Yahweh:[1]
> Yet must I reason with Thee:
> The way of the wicked, why doth it prosper?
> Why are they at ease—all that deal treacherously?
> Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root;
> They grow, yea, they bring forth fruit:
> Thou art nigh to their lips,
> But art far from their reins." (xii. 1–2.)

[1] I omit with Cornill the phrase that follows: "When I plead with Thee."

The problem thus brought into the light by Jeremiah could find no solution save in the belief of a life beyond the grave.

But there is another element in the prophecies of Jeremiah, which takes account not only of the righteous but of all men and their destinies, the germ of which is set forth in the Parable of the Potter (xviii. 1–4). Jeremiah is bidden by God to go down to the house of the potter, and told that there he will hear His words—a command that, of course, implies that he will hear not with the outward ear, but with the spirit. So Jeremiah went down to the potter's house, and as he watched, the potter wrought his work on the wheels. And as the potter wrought, he observed that when a vessel was marred, the potter did not cast the marred vessel away, but remoulded the clay of which it was composed into another vessel, such as seemed good unto him.

Thereupon a new conception of God's dealings with the nation flashed upon the prophet. Seeing that the material element was not cast away by the potter but moulded anew, Jeremiah leapt to the conclusion that neither is the spiritual reality which it represents—that is, the nation—cast away, but moulded anew to fresh uses and service, so far as it willingly yields itself to God's purposes—to the hands of the Divine Potter. God in His Divine love and patience will give fresh opportunities for realizing alike its ends and His. Here we are given an insight into the Divine mind. And so Jeremiah looked forward to a new Israel restored to a new and divine life, and in their own land. The individual soul should thus have a good environment, consisting not only in good parents but in a good community or Kingdom of God.

But when this conception of God's love and His unwearying patience with His people and His settled purpose of

giving them, after all their failures, fresh opportunities for service and even nobler service are connected, not with the nation as a nation but with the individual as an individual, as it was inevitably done by later thinkers, then there broke upon their vision the thought that probably for every soul of man there would be fresh opportunities and purposes in the mind of God. Jeremiah thus kindled in other and later minds ideas and beliefs which had not become articulate in his own. It is true, the spiritual ideas apprehended by Jeremiah did not reach their full growth till the Christian era, nor indeed have they done so yet. To put shortly the conclusions that follow from these teachings of Jeremiah, God is infinitely concerned with the destiny of the individual. As Creator, and also as the Divine Potter, God cannot leave His work undone. If man has his obligations, infinitely greater are those of the God who has created him. Of the magnitude of God's responsibility no man can form even the most inadequate conception. Having made man in His own likeness, that is, having made man capable of entering into communion with Him, of sharing His love, of thinking His thoughts, and doing His will—which things are the essence of divine sonship—God is bound to do all for His child that Eternal Love can do, not only in this life, but in the ages yet to come. These conclusions were, of course, beyond the range of prophetic vision in Jeremiah's day. Nevertheless, by his spiritual intuitions he arrived at the premises from which the above conclusions follow of necessity. In dealing with the differences between the various stages of religious development in the Bible—which is to be regarded not as a revelation, but as the history of a revelation—the use of the reason morally and intellectually is indispensable; for the reason is, as another Old Testament writer designates it, the Candle of the Lord (Prov. xx. 27).

XVIII

BARUCH THE SCRIBE AND HIS CONVERSION

"Seekest thou great things for thyself?
Seek them not." JER. xlv. 5.

IN this concluding sermon on the Book of Jeremiah, I propose to deal with Baruch and the lessons to be learnt from his work. As I showed in my first sermon on Jeremiah, the forty-fifth chapter was the last in the original edition. Chronologically it was, of course, out of place, but it was placed there deliberately by Baruch, owing to the fact that this chapter concerned not the nation but himself alone. The humbleness of spirit which Baruch had won during his long and loving service of the great prophet, no doubt contributed to this action on Baruch's part. If we would understand the ground for this special message to Baruch in the forty-fifth chapter, we should read this chapter immediately after the thirty-sixth. This is obvious to the least observant reader; for not only are the events of both chapters to be definitely assigned to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, but the grief of Baruch in the forty-fifth chapter is just as definitely to be attributed to the events recorded in the thirty-sixth.

Turning now to Baruch, we gather from the pages of Jeremiah [1] and Josephus [2] that he belonged to a noble family that had been accustomed to hold high office in the kingdom of Judah.

[1] li. 59. His brother Seraiah was Lord Chamberlain to King Zedekiah.
[2] *Ant.* x. 9. i.

Young, talented, and enthusiastic, Baruch cherished great hopes for the future of his people, and alike by virtue of his rank and personal gifts he naturally nursed lofty ambitions as to the part he was to play in the coming years. Though his personal ambition is rebuked in our text, it was not an ungenerous ambition. It was no mere desire for office and self-aggrandizement. Nay, rather, he sought to be at once patriot and prophet, and to use his powers in the service of his God and country, and for this service he appeared well qualified alike by his character, his intellectual powers and social position. Now it is not unnatural for men endowed with such great gifts to desire a fitting theatre for their exercise. But there is a danger in such an ambition, and from the evils of such an ambition Baruch was not immune. His heart, it is true, was set on serving the cause of his God and country, but on serving it in such a way as would contribute to his own reputation, and fix attention on his eminent personal gifts and his public virtues. That his ambition was of this self-centred character is clearly to be inferred from the concluding words of the oracle : " Seekest thou, therefore, great things for thyself ? seek them not." To win both place and power and play a leading rôle in the redemption of his people, to glorify the God of Israel by such measures as would at the same time glorify himself—these were the things Baruch aspired to achieve, perhaps in large measure unconsciously—these were the things that were for him the great things in life. Hence the words of God addressed to him through the prophet amounted just to this : These things that thou esteemest to be the chief and greatest are in no true sense the great things of life : yet thou seekest them as such : seek them not.

But let us return to the few facts that have come down to us regarding Baruch. We have already recognized that

in rank and personal gifts he stood high amongst his contemporaries, and the value of these personal advantages Baruch himself was not likely to underrate. But, in reality, his greatest honour lay in his being chosen by Jeremiah as his most trusted friend and secretary. Apparently it was not till 604 B.C. that Baruch came into close association with Jeremiah. A few years earlier Nineveh had fallen,[1] and with its fall Assyria disappeared from amongst the great northern powers. The place of Assyria was taken by the Chaldeans under Nebuchadrezzar, and the world's destinies were now to be determined by the issue of the struggle between the two surviving great world empires—Babylon and Egypt. The strife of these two great powers could not fail to affect all the lesser kingdoms, since their immediate destiny would be decided by the issue of this conflict. Of these lesser kingdoms, that of Judah was the most seriously affected; for the opposed powers could not meet save by marching over a part of Galilee that was close to Jewish territory, and had, in fact, once belonged to Israel. The kingdom of Judah knew to its cost how deeply it was involved in the impending struggle. Only a few years before, in 608, the armies of Pharaoh Necho had set out from Egypt in order to secure a share of the declining Assyrian Empire, and on their march through Palestine were withstood by King Josiah at Megiddo. To such a conflict there could only be one sequel. The Jewish army was utterly crushed, Josiah himself slain, and the kingdom of Judah laid under a heavy tribute to Egypt. By this campaign Pharaoh Necho succeeded in making himself master of Syria as far as the Euphrates; but his conquest was only temporary, and came to an end in 604, when his armies were so utterly defeated at Carchemish, that Egypt was never again able

[1] 612 or 606 B.C.

to meet on equal terms with the great empires of the East, but had to content itself with the ignoble rôle of first provoking the inhabitants of Palestine to rebel against Babylon, and then, when they were called to account, to let them suffer the penalties of their folly. Egypt had the reputation of being a false friend even in earlier days, as we read in Isa. xxxvi. 6: "Behold thou trusteth on the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it—so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust in him."

To return now to Baruch. Baruch, so far as we can ascertain, did not come into close association with Jeremiah till 604. This is a reasonable inference from the fact that Jeremiah in that year dictated to him all his previous prophecies. This implies that these prophecies had not hitherto been committed to writing, at least in their entirety. Furthermore, we know but little of the actual experiences of the prophet before that year. We are told only of his call to the prophetic office, the attempt of the men of Anathoth on his life, his visit to the house of the potter, and a few other incidents in his life.[1] All these incidents, prior to 604, are narrated in the first person—that is, Baruch took them down at the prophet's dictation—but from 604 onwards the incidents recorded are numerous, and in these, with three exceptions,[2] Jeremiah speaks in the third person. This second series of narratives is obviously derived from Baruch's memoirs.

Whether Baruch knew Jeremiah at an earlier date is a question of secondary importance. In any case, it was in the year 604 that the earlier prophecies of Jeremiah were committed to writing by Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 4, 32), and

[1] See i., xi. 18–xii. 6, xiii. 1–17, xviii. 1–12.
[2] xxiv., xxviii., xxxii. 6–44.

that their friendship was really formed, and it was in the same year that Baruch experienced the great spiritual crisis of his life, which we may justly call his conversion. This last experience followed obviously on the former. The subject-matter of Jeremiah's prophecies was of so tragic a nature that Baruch was overwhelmed with disappointment, anguish, and despair. Neither for the nation nor for himself could he see one glimmer of hope in the immediate future. The whole eastern world was to fall under the yoke of Babylon, and amongst the many kingdoms marked out for destruction was the kingdom of Judah, together with its Temple and Sacred City. Its people, moreover, were to be carried into captivity. In the meantime, war and drought, famine and pestilence, were to lay waste the land, the children were to be cut off in the streets, and the young men in the squares of the city, and the slain of Judah were, in the vivid words of the prophet, to lie in the fields as sheaves cut down by the reaper, with no man to gather them. And yet greater evils than death were to come upon them. The nearer the impending end drew, the more base and degenerate was to become the character of Judah. The nation was to sink into utter moral ruin. Hydra-headed wickedness was to stalk through the land: unspiritual worship, accompanied by gorgeous ritual and material sacrifices, was to be offered in the Temple, idolatry was to be rampant everywhere: purity of life and good faith were to be no more. With every noble hope, both for his people and himself, thus blighted and apparently beyond recovery, can we be astonished at Baruch's exceeding bitter cry:

> "Woe is me! Woe is me!
> For Yahweh hath added sorrow to my pain.
> I am weary with my groaning,
> And as for rest I find it not."

To Baruch's plaint comes the wonderful reply of God, with which I have already dealt. With the closing words of this oracle I shall now deal: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not." These words single out, as I have already remarked, the weak spot in Baruch's character. They foreshadow in a negative form the great command of Christ: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." But Baruch was seeking first the secondary things of life.

Baruch's grief and pain for the failure of Israel were first and mainly not for Israel but for himself, as we have already shown.

Now, if we ask how Baruch received the stern lesson contained in this oracle, the answer is not far to seek. However closely we study the Book of Jeremiah, and the Memoirs of Baruch, which are incorporated in it, there is not a sign that he flinched from the hard tasks assigned him, or that after his first exceeding great and bitter cry he uttered a single murmur as he encountered ever fresh and more disastrous experiences. Despite the wreck of his personal hopes, and of his public grief as a patriot and statesman, Baruch took God's message to heart. And so we find him facing fearlessly and calmly the reprobation of all his countrymen; for his unwavering support of the prophet brought him of necessity into constant collision with the strongest currents of popular, priestly, and royal opinion. He knew that in so doing he took his life in his hand, but he faltered not. The picture is one of the most striking in history: two men, and two men without other support, standing out against an entire nation, while behind the nation stood the immemorial priesthood, the popular school of the prophets, and the king. For his disinterested devotion to duty, Baruch is rewarded in the noblest way. He is entrusted

with higher duties, and inspired with loftier ideals, and summoned to still more perilous enterprises. God had revealed to Baruch a corruptness in his motives which he had not suspected: He had bidden him to relinquish his personal ambitions, his craving for distinction and eminence—not merely in the face of the coming desolations, but as a lesson and ideal for all true men, for all after time—"Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

Thenceforward, Baruch shared in all the hardships and dangers of his master, though each year brought with it severer sufferings and still gloomier anticipations. At last, despite all Jeremiah's denunciations of Egypt as a country in which Judah was not to trust, a body of the Jews fled thither for refuge, carrying Jeremiah and Baruch with them, and there, if we may trust a late tradition, the Jews, meeting with the disappointments they were taught by the prophet to expect, put Jeremiah and Baruch to death.

The lesson given to Baruch by God is a lesson for all time. For all men are tempted as Baruch was, whether their gifts be of the first order or be pitiful in the extreme. Naturally men respond to this command in very different ways. Some pay no heed to it at all, and unblushingly utilize their public position to advance their private interests. There are others still worse who, whether they be politicians, or soldiers, or capitalists, leaders of the democracy, or trade union leaders, are ready to use public emergencies or calamities to advance their purely individual or party ends. This class is with us always.

But happily for England there are large numbers who receive the command in a different spirit. We might divide these into two classes. Firstly, those who serve God with mixed motives, like Baruch at the outset; secondly, those who seek to serve God from a pure motive and with a single

eye. The service of the first class must always be imperfect. Whilst professing to serve God, and in some degree doing so, they are resolutely bent on serving themselves; and so the direction of their service is determined, not by what is most imperatively needed, but by what will at the same time further their own interests, prejudices, or passions. And yet in this class there are many men possessing high character in many directions. They can show themselves superior to the love of gain and the temptations of the flesh. Their word is often as good as their bond, and yet they are so conscious of their own gifts and so full of their own importance, that they are ever studying to serve the State or to glorify God in such a way as shall best glorify themselves. This is the spirit that runs directly counter to our Lord's command: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify—not you but—your Father which is in heaven."

This self-regarding spirit makes true service all but impossible. It stirs up jealousies in families, it leads to alienation among friends, and promotes distrust amongst those who should be working heartily together in the same honourable cause. Such self-centred men set a wrong value on wealth and pomp and power. It is true that they wish to serve God's ends, but in such a fashion as to serve their own as well: and so they come at last to sacrifice their spiritual ideals; for in the long run men cannot serve God and mammon. The chief seat in the synagogue, the leading rôle in the policy of a village community or of a world empire, the most exalted place in society or fashion—these are the things that even good men are seeking, and seeking regardless of the wrongs they are inflicting on their fellow-workers, or the discredit they are bringing on the high cause to which they profess their devotion.

Are not the best of us conscious of these truths ? We go into our closets and, closing the door, we confess with shame our petty vanities, or pride, or self-seeking, and exclaim that even the lowest seat in God's house is more than we deserve. And then, going forth from our homes into the world, we meet some slight, are refused some honour we thought our due, our advice is disregarded, and then to our dismay we discover that after all we are but schemers for the chief seat at the feast, the foremost place amongst our fellows. A man may, indeed, rightly long for a position of eminence, but only for the sake of the larger field of service which such a position provides. But it is a dangerous thing in any case to seek promotion through devotedness to a good cause.

In this world such earthly prizes as riches, power, rank, and high place in the counsels of the nation do not necessarily attend on unblemished goodness and rectitude of character. And yet Baruch's heart was originally set on such worldly things as these : these were the things he regarded as great. But the acquisition of one or of all these combined does not constitute true greatness. Goodness is the essential basis of all true and lasting greatness, and the connection between goodness and worldly success is wholly arbitrary and uncertain. True greatness cannot be conferred by any court, or government, or nation : it cannot be given arbitrarily even by God. It can only be won by the co-operation of man's spirit with the Spirit of God in the faithful discharge of the tasks committed to him. Personal favour, whether of a sovereign or of a democracy, has no part in its assignment, but eternal equity has everything.

Now, in every province of human activity there are some men whose chief ambition is to do God's will and to render their best service to God and man, irrespective of

any return. If we enrol ourselves in such service, every faculty we possess grows at once in quality and power, and more and more we come to serve our neighbour not for our own good but for his : and more and more it becomes our chief and highest aim to become God's children, not to be thought so. In fact, our reputation becomes steadily a matter of less moment, as we grow in Divine wisdom and stature. Now, in this large congregation which I am addressing there are assuredly many young men whose deepest desire is not to serve themselves, but to serve God as Baruch in his later years served Him ; many young women whose profoundest longing is not self-indulgence, but to be true to God, whatever the position may be to which God shall call them. If this is so, then, with ever-growing ideals and capacities, goodness will inevitably lead to true greatness, both here or hereafter. But, and let us weigh the words well, greatness can never be a true man's aim. If a man makes it his chief aim to be great, he must fall short of real goodness ; but, if he makes goodness his chief aim, he cannot fail to attain to true greatness, alike here and in all other worlds of his Father's making. True greatness, therefore, is within the reach of all men alike here and in all other worlds, and the Master will call men great in the measure in which they have forgotten the thought of their own ends and aggrandizement —their own personal greatness—in the service of God and man. Christ puts this thought into pregnant words. He asks, What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul ? Though Christ's words refer alike to this life and the life to come, we are now concerned most with their reference to the life that now is. In this reference their meaning is : Of what profit is it, of what advantage to us, if we live, and yet do not truly live ? for though we achieve anything and everything the world can offer, and yet

fail to achieve in ourselves that which alone can be the centre and goal of eternal worth, we are in reality poor, and blind, and miserable, and naked.

What is the good of having all the earth can give, if after all we are in ourselves nothing ?

Even men who have won the highest honours this world can give, or become rich beyond the dreams of avarice, will, when they admit us to their confidence, confess that the whole result is a vanity of vanities—and life itself but a hand's breadth of time, a few years of so-called success and achievement, intermingled always with sorrow or pain, disappointment or despair, and then the end.

Even if we look only to the material side of human life, we must acknowledge how utterly vain are the efforts of the spoilt children of this world to escape themselves, however richly they are endowed with the good things of this life.

A satiety of such things sooner or later must inevitably fill their souls. And, if we turn from these seeming favourites of fortune, what are we to say of the vast masses of mankind, whose lot is a daily round of drudgery, privation, and hardship, and whose departure from this world is just as ignored and unheeded as was their birth into it. Truly, if there is not a spiritual and divine side of life, and if faithful souls are not led to recognize the true greatness of that life, then assuredly we must admit with the Psalmist of old, that man walketh in a vain show and disquieteth himself in vain, that men of low degree are but vanity and men of high degree a lie. When laid in the balance, they are all together lighter than vanity. " Vanity of vanities," exclaimed the Old Testament preacher and pessimist, " all is vanity ! "

But this view of life is not, as the pessimists imagine it, the ultimate truth. In fact, it is not the truth at all, but the deepest falsehood, the grossest of all the lies of the

libellers of God's universe. For there is a spiritual life that all men may realize, a life that is not vanity, and cannot be touched by vexation of spirit. It is not a thing remote and far off and beyond man's utmost reach, but it is near and close to the heart of all that would share therein ; it is man's true life, in which man escapes out of self, as out of a prison-house ; it is the life of faith and hope and love prevailing here, mastering, on the one hand, vexation of spirit, and on the other treading vanity in all its forms under foot, till at last it becomes triumphant in the further reaches of that life in the world that is eternal and beyond the ken of all self-seeking hearts. If these are the ideals we cherish, then in so far as such ideals are reshaping our lives, as in countless instances they are, they are the earnest of attainments infinitely transcending, and that in far nobler worlds, all that we have yet achieved in this.

But we must pause here. We have travelled, as the lawyers say, beyond our brief. For neither Jeremiah nor Baruch believed in a blessed future life. They looked forward only to an eternal and shadowy existence in Sheol, which was, according to the Hebrews, a place of discomfort and darkness, and cut off from the jurisdiction of Yahweh. Not even a single phrase in the fifty-two chapters of Jeremiah can be interpreted as conveying the slightest hope of a blessed hereafter, and yet Jeremiah and Baruch remained faithful to the end. How intense must have been their sense of immediate communion with God throughout this life that they exhibited a never-failing loyalty as His servants, despite the fact that such loyalty entailed continuous persecution, the reprobation of their countrymen, the constant peril of death, and all these without any hope in the life to come of restoration to communion with the God they worshipped on earth!

How the prophets, psalmists, and saints of Israel maintained their loyalty to the Divine voice within them is all but incredible. Only the master spirits in those ages could reach such Divine communion and hold fast to lofty and Divine ideals under such conditions. But for the vast majority of men such communion and ideals were hopelessly out of reach. They could only approach God through the prophets or the official priesthood. Thus, neither in this life nor in that which was to come, could the ordinary Israelite enjoy that communion with God which constitutes the real essence of true religion. And yet this rudimentary conception of religion was the only form of religion that prevailed from the early centuries down to Jeremiah's time. Obviously it could not hold its ground, much less could it get hold of the nation and develop the foundations on which the Christian Church was to be built, unless it developed them in harmony with the claims of the human spirit. Either the religion of the prophets had to abandon the high truths it already possessed and degenerate into a combination of idolatry, superstition, and magic such as was current amongst the neighbouring nations, not to speak of Israel itself, or it had to go forward and give birth through spiritual experience and reflection to such a high theology as would carry with it the belief in immediate communion with God in this life, not only for the outstanding saints of Israel but for every Israelite, and not only for every Israelite but for every son of man—a communion, moreover, which death could not sever, nor yet affect, unless in the way of enrichment in every conceivable direction.

But some may say, as did the author of the 88th Psalm and Ecclesiastes, that these ideals of religion are but dreams to which no fact in the universe pays the slightest heed, and that the real power, which must be recognized as prevailing

at the heart of things, is, after all, but a baffled and frustrated spirit which can never achieve its ends. If the claims of man's conscience are but engaging infirmities of the human spirit, then, indeed, men must purchase mental insensibility by sacrificing their religion, or retain their religion at the cost of an endless disquiet. But the true man recognizes no contradiction as existing between the claims of the spirit within him and the facts of the universe without, nor will he discount or debase his faith by divorcing it from the sphere of his intellectual powers : for he recognizes that faith and reason are not foes but allies, and are both alike spiritual creations of God, nay, more, and in a true sense joint creations of God and man, and fostered and developed at an infinite cost in the souls of all His faithful children.

XIX

MESSIANIC PROPHECY [1]

"He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father."—St. John xiv. 9.

MESSIANIC Prophecy is the subject of this sermon, but I do not propose to deal with this question in a controversial spirit from the conflicting standpoints of Christianity and Judaism, though that was the expressed wish of its founder. Rather, I shall do as a succession of preachers on this subject in recent times have done, who have ignored this controversy, and therein I shall follow the course which has the sanction of their example.

But this is not all. It is not enough to exclude the controversial treatment of the subject as between Jews and Christians. I must also abandon the attempt to give a comprehensive, however closely compressed, history of the salient points of the Messianic expectation. The subject is so immense that I must confine myself to only a few of its chief characteristics, as they come to light, whether in prophets or psalmists, in anonymous seers or writers, whose teachings herein manifested an insight that only later ages could interpret.

With this preface let us now begin with the earliest chapters in the Bible. In the immortal allegory with which the Book of Genesis opens, the writers (for the work is composite) look backward, it is true, like the Greeks and Romans,

[1] Preached before the University of Oxford on January 27, 1929.

to an ideal period when God or, as in heathenism, the gods mingled freely with men. But when, owing to moral failures, men fell from their high estate, the Hebrews did not look forward, like most other nations, to a succession of ages of growing demoralization, each generation outdoing its predecessor in infamy and guilt, in sin and shame. In this marvellous Hebrew allegory, two great truths stand out in contrast to the primitive conceptions of the Greeks and Romans. The second truth, in point of time, I shall mention first, since it does not belong strictly to our subject and yet testifies to the deep insight of the writer into the spiritual life of man. Not till man goes forth from the presence of God are the words ascribed to him, "Am I my brother's keeper?" (Gen. iv. 9). Here Cain absolutely disclaims all responsibility for his brother's well-being. This is a truth valid not only for time but for eternity: not for this world only but for all worlds, wherever they be or wherever they come into existence. When man deliberately forsakes the presence of God (that is, when he delibertely breaks off communion with God), he adopts a course which must end in extinguishing not only his love for his neighbour, but also all consciousness of moral obligation to his neighbour; and so he must tend more and more to live solely for himself, and without scruple or misgiving to sacrifice wholly or in part his neighbour's interests when they clash with his own. Thus this early Hebrew seer recognized in its essence the truth that religion, conceived first and essentially as the communion of the soul with God, is the primary source from which the life of man is derived, whether men be considered as individuals, as members of a family, as a nation, or as a commonwealth of nations.

The earlier truth in this allegory is enunciated in the words ascribed to God in His condemnation of the serpent:

" And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; it shall bruise (or ' lie in wait for,' as it is otherwise translated) thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." On the ground that these words occur in the midst of a series of curses and punishments in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, some scholars contend that this oracle contains no element of hope, and that the words in question are nothing more than the protest of an ethical religion against the unnatural fascination of serpent worship. The serpent, they admit, seeks to implant in man a distrust of God's goodness, and the serpent's punishment is to be an eternal antagonism between man and the entire serpent brood, but of a victorious issue of the strife they affirm that there is not even a hint. With this interpretation we cannot agree. The very fact that the serpent in the allegory is represented as possessing supernatural knowledge, the power of speech, and an innate hostility to God, implies a deeper meaning than the superficial one attributed to it by the scholars just referred to. It is generally acknowledged that the Book of Genesis, though not a conglomerate of disconnected fragments, consists of three main sources which once formed independent wholes, but from which the final editor selected definite portions in accordance with a definite plan. The chapters which describe the fall of man are derived from the author of J, the most gifted and brilliant of all the Hebrew historians. The aim of this historian is to trace back to their beginnings human customs and institutions, and to account for the entrance of sin and suffering into the life of man. His explanations are, of course, not based on historic or scientific facts, but are suggested by religious reflection on the facts of life. Hence, whatever element of truth may exist in the interpretation given above, it is not the whole truth designed by the writer. Surely his aim is

to teach that, though sin has for the moment succeeded in driving man forth from God's presence, yet it is through man that sin itself shall be ultimately destroyed.

How this victory is to be achieved—whether through a single individual, or collectively through a nation or body of nations, is not even hinted at. And there is no reason to suppose that the writer knew more than his words literally express. In due time the idea of the annihilation of sin found expression in various oracles of various moral values. Whether these oracles were written one or more centuries before or after the Exile, is not a question that affects the subject of this sermon. It is enough, so long as we confine our attention to the Old Testament, to recognize that there were two forms that claimed the allegiance of the faithful in the Old Testament. These were a collective Messiah—that is, a Messianic community—consisting of the faithful remnant of Israel, and a so-called individual Messiah, consisting in reality of a dynasty of righteous kings sitting on the throne of David.[1]

First there was the collective Messiah or the Messianic community. This community assumes two forms. In Ezekiel it is a holy nation devoted to ritual and the minute observance of the law—a nation hallowed by God's presence and in a minor degree under the immediate rule of the dynasty of David. This conception, however, is mainly of a priestly character. For, although Ezekiel was a prophet, being a disciple of Jeremiah, he was still more a priest. The Davidic dynasty, therefore, in Ezekiel's view is of the nature of a survival and not a ruling factor in his conception of the Messianic kingdom.

But the teaching of the two great sixth-century prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, presents other and very conflicting

[1] See, however, note on p. 228.

views on this subject. According to Jeremiah, the Messianic kingdom was to embrace all the Gentiles, whereas his disciple Ezekiel and Ezekiel's spiritual successors taught, that even those Gentiles who survived the Messianic judgment were to be excluded from the Messianic kingdom for ever. A universalism which embraced all mankind was the logical outcome of Jeremiah's individualism—God's law was to be implanted in the heart of man as man—but a narrow particularism which represented the Jews only, as the objects of God's love, was the creed of Ezekiel. As Ezekiel is the real spiritual founder of the narrowest phases of Talmudic Judaism, Jeremiah is the true forerunner of Christianity, teaching, as he did, that the kingdom was to be within man, that God's law was to be written on his heart, from which truths it naturally followed that the kingdom was to be world wide.

The ideal of the Messianic community as foreshadowed in Jeremiah is sketched in the Second Isaiah. There the Messianic community is the prophetic people preaching the true religion to all the nations and bearing witness to the truth it taught, even when it involved its own martyrdom. This ideal is best represented in the Songs of the Servant of Yahweh in Isa. liii. 1–11 : " Who hath believed our report ? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed ? For he grew up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground : he hath no form nor comeliness ; and when we see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He was despised and rejected of men ; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief : and as one from whom men hide their face ; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

" Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows : yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God,

and afflicted. . . . All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.

"He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many: and he shall bear their iniquities."

Another description of Israel conceived as the Messiah in its corporate character is given in Dan. vii. 13–14, where he is described as one like unto a son of man coming on the clouds of heaven. The exact form of the text is very uncertain, but there can hardly be any doubt as to its substance-matter.

In some of the clauses the version of the LXX is preferable to the Massoretic Text, as, for instance, where it describes God as "one like unto an ancient of days," and not as "an ancient of days" or "old man":

"And I saw in a vision of the night,
And behold there came on the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man,
And one like unto an ancient of days was there,[1]
And they that stood by brought him near before him.
And there was given unto him dominion and glory and a kingdom,
That all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him."
(vii. 13–14.)

The words of the vision seem to point to a personal Messiah, but the interpretation of the vision, which *the angel gives to Daniel in the following verses*, makes such an interpretation impossible. In vii. 22 it is definitely stated that "the saints possessed the kingdom," and later, in vii. 27:

"And the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven
Shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High:
Its kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom,
And all dominions shall serve and obey it."

[1] So LXX.

I have quoted this passage with the interpretations given by the angel, but subsequently it was twice reinterpreted—first in the Book of Enoch, and next in the New Testament, and in each case differently.

The reinterpretation in the Book of Enoch is an advance on that in Daniel, while that in the New Testament is an absolute transformation of the interpretations both in Daniel and Enoch.

But to return : we now come to the ideal of the so-called individual Messiah, or rather of a dynasty of Messianic Kings.[1] We find this expectation expressed in Isa. vii. 14 in the post-Exilic passage :

> " Behold a young woman is with child,
> And she shall bring forth a son,
> And shall call his name Emmanuel."

Here, unhappily, the LXX has committed a very gross blunder in rendering the Hebrew word " halmah " (עלמה) by *παρθένος*, which in ancient Greek nearly always means " virgin," and does so always in Biblical Greek. This blunder has been corrected in the other three later Greek translations of Isaiah, and with good reason ; for the word עלמה never in itself means " virgin " in Hebrew. If it bears this meaning, it is simply an inference suggested by its context. Nor does the root from which it is derived ever appear to bear this meaning in the cognate Semitic languages. In the Massoretic Text this word occurs without question in seven passages, and with these alone have we any concern.[2]

[1] In Isa. vii. 14, ix. 6–7 ; Zech. ix. 9 ; Haggai and Zechariah references to an actual individual Messiah might be traced. But there are no necessarily supernatural characteristics connected with the last two.

[2] Ex. ii. 8 ; Ps. lxviii. 26 ; Cant. i. 3, vi. 8 ; Gen. xxiv. 43 ; Prov. xxx. 19 ; Isa. vii. 14. In the first four passages it is rendered by the LXX by *νεᾶνις* ; in the fifth the Mass. reads עלמה and then אליה (=

In four of these the LXX renders it simply and accurately by *νεᾶνις*, *i.e.* a young girl or a young woman. In the sixth passage (Prov. xxx. 19) it omits the word altogether: in the fifth (Gen. xxiv. 43) the LXX diverges from the Mass. and presupposes two nouns, one of which it renders by *παρθένος*. In the seventh passage (Isa. vii. 14) it certainly does render עלמה by "virgin," but this may assuredly be regarded as a false rendering. For in itself the Hebrew word denotes simply a young woman who has arrived at the age of sexual maturity. She may be actually married or unmarried: the word makes no claim for her chastity, whether as wife or spinster. Nay, more, in Prov. xxx. 19, where the writer speaks of "the way of a man with a young woman," the context suggests an immoral meaning. If the verse that follows in the Mass. is original, this immoral meaning is indubitable. To this fact we may add the further fact that the cognate words in the related Semitic languages—that is, in the Aramaic of the Targums, in Palmyrene and Arabic—carry with them associations of a definitely impure character, in the first of which it is used of an unfaithful concubine (Targ. Judg. xix. 5), and in the second it is a designation of harlots.

On the other hand, Hebrew does possess a word which cannot mean anything but "virgin" in the strictest sense, *i.e.* בתולה, and whereas the word עלמה occurs but seldom, the word בתולה is one of the most familiar words in the Old Testament, occurring, as it does, nearly fifty times. It is tragical, therefore, that the final editor of Matthew, to whom we owe the first two chapters of that Gospel, sought

"to her"), where the LXX has respectively *αἱ θυγατέρες τ. ἀνθρώπων* and *ἡ παρθένος*. There are two doubtful passages—Ps. xlvi. 1 and 1 Chron. xv. 20—in neither of which the word is translated by *παρθένος*. See Buchanan Gray, *Isaiah*, 123–136.

in the last half of the first century A.D. to substantiate his particular theory of the Incarnation by representing it as brought about in the same way as in the pagan religions, which frequently assumed that their deities mingled sexually with the daughters of men. But such a theory clearly fails to achieve the object of the author of these chapters, which is obviously that of proving the sinlessness of Christ, and which none the less is wholly illogical in regard to the object it is conjured up to explain. It fails ; for it is manifest to any clear thinker that the *entail of sin* is not broken, unless both parents are absolutely sinless—a claim which no sane reader can make for the narrative in Matthew. The first two chapters of Luke are also acknowledged by most of our foremost scholars to be, not directly from the hand of Luke, but to be the translation of a document, which Luke edited and prefixed to his first or second edition of his Gospel. That Mary was not free from original sin was recognized in the twelfth century by St. Bernard, who repudiated altogether the view that Mary was sinlessly conceived and free from guilt inherited or actual, while Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the scholastic philosophers, definitely denied the Immaculate Conception of Mary. Not till 1854 did the Latin Church elevate into a dogma what had hitherto been a groundless but growing belief in that Church.

A further and no less deplorable error on the part of the editor of Matthew is his attempt to bolster up his pagan theory of the Incarnation by quoting in support of it a false translation of an Old Testament text. How the Incarnation was effected is a thing that utterly passes all human understanding. And no wonder ; for even the greatest scientist cannot explain how the lowest form of life—such as that of the amœba—comes into being : and yet two anonymous and wholly unscientific writers in the latter half of the first

century presumed to define how the Son of God became incarnate. The fact of the Incarnation stands on quite a different basis, and so, with St. Paul, the two St. Johns, St. James, St. Peter, and St. Mark, and all the Apostolic Fathers save Ignatius, in the beginning of the second century of our era, and many of the foremost scholars of the present day, we infer the reality of the Incarnation, not from a pagan myth but from the history of Christ in the Gospels, from His absolutely unique character as contrasted with the greatest men of all history, from His universal appeal to all that is divine in man, and from our own spiritual experience in communion with Him. Another passage in Isa. ix. 6–7 sets forth the character of the Messiah in terms borrowed probably from current expectations of a world redeemer. Thus the conception of a semi-Divine being came to be incorporated in the higher religion of Judaism, in which the Messiah is conceived as no ordinary mortal, but as a being invested with a supernatural character, as were the Babylonian kings even during their life on earth, and later still the Seleucids and Ptolemies:

> "For unto us a child is born,
> Unto us a son is given:
> And the government is upon his shoulder:
> And his name is called
> Wonderful, Counsellor, Hero-God,
> Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.
>
> "Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end,
> Upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom,
> To establish it, and to uphold it with judgment and righteousness from henceforth even for ever."

Further references to an individual Messiah appear in Haggai and Zechariah in the sixth century B.C. It is true

that their oracles do not describe a being of transcendent and supernatural character, such as those seem to be with which we have already dealt, but only a supremely good ruler of the house of David, who was to rebuild the ruined Temple of God in Jerusalem.

Hitherto, as we have seen, the expected Messiah was to be possessed of supreme and kingly power, and to be surrounded with a pomp and circumstance far transcending the greatest glories and material splendours of any monarch in the dynasty of David or of any other earthly potentate. But in a late oracle which secured a place in the genuine prophecies of Zechariah a loftier note is struck. Thus in ix. 9, which is not earlier than the Greek period, we have a nobler conception of the Messiah than that of any material splendour even when accompanied with the highest moral characteristics. In this oracle Israel is bidden to be of good cheer:

> "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion;
> Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem:
> Behold, thy King cometh unto thee:
> He is just, and bringeth Salvation:
> Lowly, and riding upon an ass,
> Upon a colt the foal of an ass."

This oracle our Lord could apply to Himself without reinterpretation; for the Messiah whom this anonymous writer describes belongs not to the ruling godless caste in Jerusalem, but to the righteous and faithful remnant. Therefore it is that the Messiah rides, not on a proud warhorse, but, on a lowly colt, the foal of an ass.

Before we leave the Old Testament there is the 110th Psalm, which our Lord also quoted in connection with His Messianic claims. In this Psalm, which the ablest modern scholars ascribe to the second century B.C., the Messiah is

conceived as the ideal Priest. It is worth observing that Bickell, a distinguished Roman Catholic scholar, discovered in the first four verses of this Psalm an acrostic on the great Maccabean High Priest Simon. Whether we accept this view or not, it is indisputable that in this century several books appear to have been issued maintaining the superiority of the Tribe of Levi to that of Judah. To these belong Sirach, Jubilees, the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and probably the Zadokite Fragments. From the return from the Exile onwards, the power of the priesthood naturally made continuous headway. It is not strange then that, when the dynasty of David ultimately ceased to exist, the glorification of Levi reached its climax in the Maccabean priest-kings, and claimed in one of its members the office of the Messiah.

This development is amply attested in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Not only is the Tribe of Levi the supreme authority in Church and State: from Levi also is to spring the coming Messiah. In the great Maccabean prince, John Hyrcanus, in the second century B.C., a section of the Jewish people recognized the actual Messiah, as embracing in his own person the triple office of Prophet, Priest, and King—a fact which is recorded even in Josephus two centuries later (*Bell.* i. 2. 8), though all reference to the Messiahship is dropped. In the irreligious reign of his successor this hope was abandoned—to be revived possibly once more in connection with the Maccabean family in the person of Simon Ben Shetach, in the first century B.C.

Though this expectation of a Messiah from the Tribe of Levi was abandoned in the first century before the Christian era, the priesthood of Levi did not abate their claims to be the real rulers of the nation, even when the nation came to be under the suzerainty of Rome.

Nevertheless, though the hope of a Messiah from Levi ceased to exist, the hope itself did not die, but reasserted itself in two conflicting forms in the century immediately preceding the Christian era. The first occurs in the Psalms of Solomon, in which the Messiah is said to be of the house and lineage of David, embracing in his own person all the patriotic aspirations of the nation, and glorifying it by the conquest of the Gentiles.

This expectation, at once political and religious, like that of the Papacy, is mainly derived from the Old Testament, and became the ideal hope of the Pharisaic party with but a few exceptions.

A very different ideal of the Messiah is depicted in a contemporary work preserved in 1 Enoch. The writer of this work also finds the germ of this new ideal in the Old Testament, but a whole world of thought divides the symbolic expression "the Son of Man," which in Daniel stands for the entire body of the righteous in Israel, and the strictly personal designation in 1 Enoch, which denotes an individual and supernatural Messiah. There is no hint that this Son of Man is sprung from David. He is an individual and not a dynasty. He has pre-existed from the beginning, He possesses universal dominion, and to Him is committed the final judgment of the world. Of the titles He bears, four are reproduced in the New Testament. These are: "the Christ," "the Righteous One," "the Elect One," and the "Son of Man." This last designation our Lord always uses of Himself, though not one of the four Evangelists ever so names Him in any incident relating to Him—a fact that points to its authenticity.

We have sketched briefly the characteristics of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom in the Old Testament and later pre-Christian literature, and the rise and develop-

ment of the kingly, prophetic, and priestly conceptions attached to the Messiah. It is obvious that what was best in these expectations was fulfilled in Christ, and yet their best failed to exhaust the fullness of His claims and personality. Further, it may be reasonably admitted, if we duly discount the highly figurative and hyperbolic language of orientals, that apart from the Son of Man, as depicted in 1 Enoch, a purely human personality could have adequately fulfilled the Old Testament Messianic conceptions, which embraced the threefold offices of Prophet, Priest, and King.

But it is far otherwise with the Christ of the New Testament. He constantly designated Himself as the Son of Man, and in contexts recalling the very words used in 1 Enoch, but, in His use of this phrase, it underwent transformation, a transformation which we shall best apprehend, if we introduce into the individual conception of the Son of Man the collective conception of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah. These two conceptions, though originally antithetic, are in this transformation reconciled and fulfilled in a deeper unity—in the New Testament Son of Man. This transformation flowed naturally from the purpose for which the Son of Man came, which was none other than to reveal God as our Father in Christ. In the life of the actual Son of Man, the Father was revealed in the Son, and supernatural greatness in universal service. He that was greatest was likewise the servant of all. As it was His task to redeem man, He had himself to become man, to be tempted in all things like as man, yet without sin, endure all our sorrows, and to master all our infirmities and sins. Bearing in mind the inward synthesis of these two ideals of the past in the Personality of Christ, we find little difficulty in understanding the startling contrasts that present themselves in the New Testament in connection with this designation. The Son

of Man has not where to lay His head, and yet the Father hath committed all things into His hand. Though despised and rejected of the chief priests and scribes and put to a shameful death, yet He is the Lord of life and death, and is to be the Judge of all mankind.

But again, whereas the Messianic kingdom in Old Testament prophecy and apocalyptic is just as frequently foreshadowed without the Messiah as with Him, in the New Testament the actual fulfilment is wholly otherwise. The Christ forms its sinless and Divine Head, and membership of the kingdom is constituted first and chiefly by a living relationship to Him. Herein, also, the idea of the Collective Messiah is spiritually fulfilled—not, as it can only partially be, in an external, undivided, and universal Church, but in a community, whose one and essential bond is, as we have already seen, constituted by oneness with its Divine Lord—a fact which, when once realized, results in every member of this community being bound by a bond deeper than life itself, not only to its Divine Head and every other member of the Christian community, but also to the faithful of all lands and all ages, however different their creeds may be, or however divergent their forms of worship.

Time will not allow us to pursue the subject further. We shall only add that though in the gracious Figure depicted in the New Testament we have a marvellous conjunction of characteristics drawn from the most varied and unrelated sources in Old Testament prophecy and apocalyptic, yet the result is no artificial compound, no laboured syncretism of conflicting traits, but truly and indeed their perfect and harmonious consummation in a Personality transcending them all. So far, indeed, is the Christ in the Gospels from being the studied and self-conscious realization of the Messianic hope of the past, that it was not till He

had lived on earth that the true inwardness and meaning of those ancient ideals became manifest, and found at once their interpretation and fulfilment in the various natural expressions of the unique and Divine Personality of the Son of Man. He that hath seen the Christ hath seen the Father.

XX

JOHN WYCLIFFE

"Of whom the world was not worthy."—Heb. xi. 38.

IN this and the next two sermons I propose to bring your thoughts to bear on Wycliffe, the foremost and greatest of English divines, who by a modern historian[1] has been rightly called the greatest man that England produced between A.D. 1200 and the Reformation. Wycliffe was during these centuries without a rival, considered in the triple aspects of theologian, scholar, and statesman.

He was one of a succession of the great men that made the English Church famous throughout Christendom between 1200 and 1400. But my time will not allow me to draw your attention to more than the two foremost of these, *i.e.* Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, and Wycliffe, both of whom were forced, through the iniquitous claims of the Papacy, to adopt in some respects similar lines of destructive and constructive criticism on Church questions.

For the moment I may turn aside and remind my hearers that the great Prelate—Robert Grossetête—was consecrated in Westminster Abbey, in St. Catherine's Chapel. I may also mention the fact that in a century, when many of the greatest nobles could not attest their own signatures save with a cross, Grossetête was a Hebrew and Greek scholar. I have personally examined in the University Library of

[1] Trevelyan, Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge.

Cambridge a Greek MS., which he annotated and translated. But he was not only a notable linguist: he was, as Roger Bacon writes, the greatest mathematician and physicist of his age. But to return. Both these distinguished theologians, Robert Grossetête and Wycliffe, were in their early years most loyal adherents of the Papacy, even when the Papacy was making wholly illegitimate encroachments on the rights of the King and of the Church of England. But in the course of years, bitter experience forced them to adopt an attitude that could not be other than hostile to the intolerable and almost incredible exactions of the Papacy. As late as 1245 Grossetête still took the side of the Pope against the King, and stated in the most dogmatic terms his ultramontane views in his reply to a letter of the King, when the latter required him to abstain from levying taxes for the court of Rome, and appointing non-resident aliens to English benefices. Grossetête's words were: "Your Majesty has written to me that you are astonished . . . that I propose personally to assess and collect the tax for our Lord the Pope from religious men and clerks. . . . I am compelled to do this by the command of our Lord the Pope, whom not to obey is as the sin of witchcraft and idolatry." [1]

Even when the Pope required the Anglican bishops to provide for three hundred Italians out of the first benefices that fell vacant, Grossetête alone of these still feared to resist the papal commands; whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury, to his eternal honour, went into exile when he found that his refusal to obey the Pope was unavailing. But even Grossetête's patience came in time to be exhausted. He found that Pope Innocent IV. was impoverishing the entire Church and, through his alien nominees to English benefices, drawing from it a revenue three times greater than

[1] Perry, *History of the English Church*, vol. i. p. 339.

that of the King.[1] Amongst one of Innocent's many infamous demands was that Grossetête should install in a rich Canonry of Lincoln a nephew of his own, a mere boy, an alien, and an alien not even in orders. At last, in 1250, Grossetête could no longer suppress his righteous indignation at these iniquities, and went in person to the papal court at Lyons (A.D. 1250) in a very different spirit from that which he had exhibited in the Council of Lyons five years earlier. There he addressed the Pope and his cardinals in startling terms, recalling the prophets of old, and in a notable sermon arraigned the papal system as being "the cause—of all . . . the abominations" that prevailed in England, declaring that "by its dispensations and appointments" it "hands over . . . to eternal death many thousands of souls, for the life of each one of which the Son of God was willing to be condemned to a most shameful death."[2]

For the time being I will turn aside and give the scathing verdict of Gwatkin—the most learned of the Cambridge historians at the close of the last century—on the character of the Mediæval or pre-Reformation Church. "The Church," writes Gwatkin, "was the chief teacher of malice and hatred, and the chief depraver of truth and morals in the world." If you consult the recent *History of England*, by the present Regius Professor of History in Cambridge, a book which is within the reach of all of my hearers, you will not be astonished to learn the evil uses to which the monks put the small amount of learning they possessed. "By the time of the Norman Conquest," writes Trevelyan (p. 95), "shires like Worcester, Wilts, and Dorset were as much owned . . . by churchmen as by barons and knights." If we ask how the monks acquired these immense properties, the answer is astounding. "The monks," says Trevelyan,

[1] Matthew Paris, p. 859.

[2] Perry, *op. cit.* i. 343.

" took to forging charters of the lands they claimed " (p. 95). Therein they were more than a match for the illiterate nobles they had defrauded. In this case the lying pen of the monks proved mightier than the sword of the great feudal nobles.

Let us now return to Grossetête. Grossetête's protest against the infamous claims of the Pope proved unavailing. Innocent IV. continued to appoint aliens to English benefices, till at last it was reckoned that Rome, as we have already observed, derived from England a revenue three times greater than did the King, with all the claims of the State upon him. But Grossetête's remonstrances did not end with the sermon just referred to. During his last illness, he further censured the Pope for the infamies of the Apostolic See, and declared that, unless he suppressed these infamies, the Pope was hurrying fast on the way to becoming the Antichrist himself. The Pope was furious with the great English bishop, but apparently he was afraid to excommunicate a man whose reputation for fearless courage, for devotion to truth and godliness of life, was as wide as Christendom itself. It may be added that Grossetête's efforts were rendered null and void through the fact that Henry III. was then King of England, a king who was despised alike by Englishmen and foreigners for his hopeless weakness, his instability, and the incorrigibly bad faith he exhibited in his frequent breaches of the charters he had solemnly undertaken. Dante relegates him to the limbo of ineffectual souls. Hence Grossetête's failure. The reformation of the Church of England and of Christendom was reserved for a later and greater man.

Let us pause here and note how strange are the ironies of history. Just reflect: this great Abbey of Westminster, which refuses to acknowledge the jurisdiction of any bishop, whether domestic or foreign, Anglican or Roman, was first

built in the Norman style by Edward the Confessor. The Confessor was unfortunately a mere henchman of the Pope, and allowed the Vatican to dominate the English realm alike in things civil and ecclesiastical. When the Abbey was thrown down and rebuilt in the early English style, it was rebuilt by another bond slave of the Pope—Henry III., to whom we have just referred.

But the task wherein Grossetête failed, owing to Henry III.'s bondage to the Pope, was later undertaken by Wycliffe.

Wycliffe was born about 1320, and died in 1384. During these sixty years his achievements as a scholar, an ecclesiastical statesman, and a practical worker in the cause of personal religion are all but incredible.

He first gained distinction as a scholar at Oxford, where he became Master of Balliol, and where his knowledge in divinity and philosophy during his residence was acknowledged as standing only second to that of Grossetête. Subsequently he proved himself far greater than Grossetête in the actual services he rendered to the spiritual education of England and Christendom. In his early years he was a firm upholder of the Papacy, which held him in high regard down to within eleven years before his death in 1384.

For the time being I will abandon chronological order in dealing with Wycliffe, and pass on to the last ten years of his life, when he achieved his greatest work in giving to the English nation the first English Version of the Bible. In Wycliffe's lifetime there were many dialects spoken in England, and those who used one dialect could with difficulty, if at all, understand those who spoke the other dialects. Amongst all the many English dialects there were four outstanding—the first was that which had been the court language in King Alfred's time, and was native to Wessex and the southern counties. But after the Norman Conquest

this dialect was driven into the background and, ceasing to be spoken by men of light and leading, became the native tongue of the uneducated. But there were three other leading dialects. Of these, one was spoken in the northern dioceses, but as these were without any centre of learning, such as Oxford or Cambridge, it remained a dialect and nothing more. The two other dialects were spoken in the western and eastern Midland counties. But, since the eastern Midland dialect was that used at the two universities, and in London, it naturally became the ancestor of modern English, and this in a pre-eminent degree, because it was the dialect that Wycliffe used to translate the Bible from Latin, for the use of his countrymen throughout all the provinces of England. In so doing he gave it a vigour and richness of expression that no subsequent translator attained. Thus the other dialects were driven wholly out of the field, and Wycliffe's translation of the Bible determined the form in which English was to be spoken, not only throughout England as a whole, but throughout the whole world as its true *lingua franca*, its *Welt-Sprache*, as the Germans call it, as it is to this day.

Let us now return to Wycliffe and his experiences. The Church of England was not in a position to carry out its own reformation, seeing that, since the Conqueror's time, the right of appeal in ecclesiastical causes, from the time of the Conqueror to that of Wycliffe, and one hundred and fifty years later, lay to Rome, and to Rome only.

The papal claims on England had grown, as we have recognized, with the growth of the Papacy, till at last the Pope arrogated the right to appoint his own nominees to all vacant sees and benefices, though in earlier times the King had retained such nominations in his own hands, and had in fact practically appointed *all* or most of the English

bishops. Thus Henry I. maintained his right to nominate to Church preferments, as William the Conqueror and William Rufus had done before him. When Anselm refused to admit this royal prerogative on the ground that, if he did so, he should incur excommunication, Henry replied : " What is that to me ? I will not lose the customs of my predecessors, nor will I endure in my kingdom any one who is not my subject."[1] In the fourteenth century the English Parliament[2] passed with acclamation several Acts, in order to secure the rights of English patrons against the papal appointments of aliens to English benefices, and enacted that, in case the Pope made any such appointment, it should be cancelled and the patronage revert, under such circumstances, to the Crown. Parliament enacted also, in the same century, the Statute of *Præmunire*, in order to check papal interference with the political and civil rights of the King. But the rapacity and covetousness of the Bishop of Rome constantly defeated the national Church in its efforts to secure freedom and reform, to appoint its own bishops and incumbents, and to regulate public worship.

But this was not all. Papal rapacity outstripped all former limits. Alexander IV.[3] in 1266 was the first to claim

[1] Perry, *History of the English Church*, i. 188.

[2] Statute of Provisors, A.D. 1351 ; Act of Provisors, A.D. 1390. See Perry, *op. cit.* i. 408 *seq.*, 453.

[3] In 1319 John XXII. renewed this claim for three years throughout all Christendom (Perry, *op. cit.* i. 508). The custom was only of gradual growth, originating in the right of the bishop to claim the first year's profits from a newly inducted incumbent. The first *mention* of this papal claim is found under Pope Honorius (d. 1227). These dues or annates were paid to the Pope, when consecrating bishops as metropolitans or patriarchs. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the consecration of bishops became established as the sole right of the Pope, and the payment by the close of the fourteenth century was fixed at one year's revenue. There were other papal claims, but these claims were frequently resisted in England. At last the payment of

the right of levying ecclesiastical dues in England, such as first-fruits on the entire income of a newly appointed bishop or priest for five years, a claim which was reduced to two years in 1306. The Parliament which met in 1377 consulted Wycliffe on the lawfulness of the Pope's right to levy such dues. Wycliffe affirmed that the Papacy had no such right, and further advised that non-resident clergy should not receive any income from their benefices.

But the strife between the Papacy and the Anglican Church and Crown grew still fiercer. In the same year in which Wycliffe advised the Parliament to refuse to allow the Pope to levy Church dues, he again came forward to uphold the rights of the civil power against other ecclesiastical abuses. As many of you are aware, several of the great monasteries, not to speak of the smaller churches, claimed the right of being places of refuge for alleged or actual criminals, who sought their protection against civil law. All round this great Abbey, lines were drawn within which the worst criminals could secure immunity against the civil powers. Accordingly, the Sanctuary of Westminster became the resort of murderers, swindlers, prostitutes, and thieves. About this period two squires of the Duke of Lancaster took refuge within the Sanctuary of the Abbey, in order to escape the penalties they had incurred from their liege lord. Thereupon the Duke sent a band of armed men, who, ignoring the rights of sanctuary, seized the culprits. The Church thundered forth its pains, penalties, and excommunications against all concerned in this violation of the sanctuary, but, like the Jackdaw of Rheims, none of these was a penny the

annates was forbidden in England by statute in 1532, and transferred in 1534 to the Crown. In 1704 Queen Anne refused the annates and assigned them to the poorer clergy. This fund became subsequently known as "Queen Anne's Bounty."

worsé. In making this stand against ecclesiastical abuses, Wycliffe came forward in support of the Duke, and, whilst he defined what were the permissible limits of the right of asylum without respect of persons, he maintained the prerogative of the *civil* power to bring offenders against *civil* law before the King's judges. But the English Kings did not always support the national Church.

The gross ill-treatment of our Church by the Papacy could not have lasted so long but for the collusion between the later Plantagenet Kings and the Popes. To gain their own ends, these civil and religious potentates played into each other's hands. But apart from this fact, the three Kings most faithless to the independence of the English Church were Edward the Confessor, Henry III., and John, the last of whom made England a mere fief of Rome. But this unholy alliance was doomed sooner or later to come to an end. The papal court removed in 1305 to Avignon, where Clement and six of his immediate successors resided. But this transference of the papal court to French soil in due course brought to an end this destructive alliance of the English monarchy and the Popes.

But the power of the Papacy was not only weakened by the removal of the papal court to Avignon. Another and more disastrous evil befell it, when the great schism arose within its own ranks in 1378, six years before the death of Wycliffe. This schism lasted for fifty-five years. During this schism there were two Popes—the two first of them being Urban VI. at Rome, and the rival Pope Clement VII. at Avignon. Their strife did not confine itself to a war of words. The Pontiff at Rome began the conflict by promulgating a crusade against his rival at Avignon. Presently, the two rival Popes and their successors anathematized each other; and their cardinals, following the example of

the rival pontiffs, engaged in mutual conflicts and execrations, not stopping short at words any more than their spiritual superiors, but resorting to actual bloodshed. Christendom was thus rent in twain. England and Germany espoused the cause of Urban VI. at Rome, while France and Scotland upheld the cause of Clement VII. at Avignon.

With these words I must close.

XXI

JOHN WYCLIFFE

"Of whom the world was not worthy."—Heb. xi. 38.

MY first lecture on Wycliffe closed with a short account of one of the greatest scandals that the Christian world has witnessed: namely, the outbreak of a schism that embraced entire Christendom, owing to the election of two rival Popes—one at Rome, the other at Avignon.

Owing to this ungodly conflict, adjoining peoples and nations not only anathematized each other, as the English and the Scotch, the Germans and the French, but also engaged in mutual strife and bloodshed. This schism in the Papacy, which began six years before the death of Wycliffe, was the last of the many papal scandals that made him once and for all advocate the indispensable need of the reformation of the entire Church—a position from which he never for fear or favour receded.

For the moment it is advisable to anticipate the events which followed later during this disintegration of Christendom into two camps, which resulted in the Scotch and French leaguing together in support of Clement vii. at Avignon against the English and Germans who upheld the claims of Urban vi. at Rome.

After thirty-one years of the hopeless scandals that grew in intensity during this schism of fifty-five years, the cardinals of the two rival Popes held a council at Pisa in 1409, and

deposed both of the rival Popes not only on grounds of policy but also of heresy. This Council next proceeded to elect Alexander v. But the deposed Popes, Benedict xiv. and Gregory xii., refused to resign, and thus there were three Popes at the same time, each claiming to be a vicegerent of God on earth, and each excommunicating the other two. The debasement and humiliation of Christendom had reached their climax. Had the modern doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope then existed, what would have befallen the ignorant but devoted members of Church ? But Christendom then neither believed nor knew any such heresy as papal infallibility.

I have drawn your attention to these scandals of the Papacy because of their connection with the Church of England. Naturally, as I have said, they confirmed and accentuated Wycliffe's irreconcilable hostility to its claims. To a single visible and righteous head of the Church, Wycliffe had no objection, but its apparently incurable scandals led Wycliffe at last to brand the Pope himself as the Antichrist.

But it was not till the year 1376 that Wycliffe made any attack on the doctrinal system of the Church. Till that year his denunciations had been directed against the baseless ecclesiastical and political claims of the Papacy, and its immoral character. But now he proceeded further, and began to denounce several Roman doctrines. These denunciations soon drew upon him the hostility of Gregory xii., who issued no less than five Bulls, in which he condemned eighteen of Wycliffe's conclusions, and required the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the University of Oxford, and the King to enforce the condemnations therein contained. But on various grounds these Bulls were wholly disregarded—the chief ground being the general resentment of Englishmen against the effrontery of an

Italian bishop issuing orders to imprison an Englishman without trial by his own countrymen.

Wycliffe's views were slowly and thoughtfully developed. He did not act on impulse, but with the calm determination to teach the will of God, however grievously he might suffer for the conclusions he arrived at and taught.

It is interesting to note that, whereas certain modern thinkers are so often deploring the method of Divine creation, and suggesting others they think to be better, Wycliffe had already come to definite conclusions on this question. "The will of God," he taught, "is His essential and eternal nature, by which all His acts are determined." [1] Hence arbitrary decrees on God's part are inconceivable, since His creation is conditioned by His own eternal nature. The world is not, therefore, one among an infinity of alternative worlds. It is the only possible world, and not the result of an arbitrary selection. God's ends, which cannot be other than in keeping with His nature, will be accomplished. In the next place, since all power emanates from God, Wycliffe taught that it can only be lawfully retained when justly exercised in His service. Man is not the absolute possessor of his powers or of his wealth: these are God's; man is only a steward. When he proves an unjust steward, he forfeits his right to what he apparently possesses, whether he be a feudal noble, a King, or a Pope. It is not unnatural that the rival and criminal Popes, who were debasing their positions and using their spiritual powers for the acquisition of political influence and less worthy ends, should denounce Wycliffe for such teaching.[2]

[1] See *Ency. Brit.*[11] xxviii. 867.

[2] Had Wycliffe's conception of God been that of Origen, his conception of the world and of the destinies of the individuals would, no doubt, have been similar. But different problems were vexing the ages in which these two great men respectively lived.

Hitherto the universities and great nobles of the north had supported Wycliffe, since his teaching and action were such as reasonably called forth the support of the thoughtful men of this age. But Wycliffe's thought was never quiescent or stagnant, and his activities kept pace with his thought. Ever advancing, it was inevitable that they should come into collision with the ignorance, the worldliness, and the usurpations of the Mediæval Church.

Christ's Church, he declares, " is the congregation of just men for whom Christ died." Since Wycliffe maintained that all that was good in man came from immediate communion with Christ, and not through the mediation of a multitude of ecclesiastics, generally of less than average goodness, this was the conception of the Church at which Wycliffe was bound to arrive. The Church was not composed of bishops, priests, monks, or nuns, through whom the laity *indirectly* derived forgiveness and other divine graces, however wrongly or contrary to the law of Christ the lives of such ecclesiastical persons may have been, but, to use the much later words of our Prayer Book, the Church is " the blessed company of all faithful people." Proceeding from this position, he maintained that there is no need of a visible head of the Church, and that this conception of the Church is confirmed by the fact that no apostle of Christ ever constrained any man to regard him as Christ's vicar on earth. Further, he urged that many an individual bishop of Rome might be of such an immoral character that his salvation was, humanly speaking, inconceivable. Is such a one, he asked, to be regarded as the Head of Christ's Church ? The Vicar of Christ should in spirit represent Christ. But if he represents a spirit contrary to that of Christ, then is he an Antichrist.

Even from the brief historical account I have given of

the political and religious relations between our country and the Papacy, it is clear that only the most ignorant or imbecile of our countrymen should regard the Royal Supremacy as a new prerogative claimed by Henry VIII. The Church of England before the Reformation had in every reign, with a few exceptions, contended for the independence of the National Church against papal encroachments, alike in the civil and ecclesiastical spheres. The action of Henry VIII. in disowning absolutely the civil and ecclesiastical authority of Rome was the logical culmination of a movement which was centuries old. In fact, Henry VIII. merely recovered and maintained, though in far larger measure than had ever been dreamt of in the past, the independence of the National Church. Before Edward the Confessor's time, the Church enjoyed a measure of liberty that was the harbinger of the complete emancipation it won from papal aggression in Tudor times.

Hitherto, as I have already said, Wycliffe was supported in the main by the universities and the great nobles. But soon his teaching on Transubstantiation alienated even these powers, and thus Wycliffe was left alone to confront the thunders of the Papacy. Nevertheless, Wycliffe held on his way, and as before he had denounced the infamies, the political and civil aggressions of the Popes, so now he denounced their bad philosophy and theology. Transubstantiation, he taught, was bad philosophy ; for it gives us accidents without substance, and substance without accidents.

These conceptions of the Middle Ages require explanation. According to mediæval philosophy, substance was a thing wholly independent of its accidents. Substance could exist without accidents, or accidents without substance. By accidents were meant shape, colour, taste, and other such attributes. Hence, if you accepted this view of substance,

it was possible to believe in Transubstantiation; that is, when certain words were pronounced by the priest, you could believe that, though the accidents of the bread and wine remained the same—that is, their colour, taste, and the like—yet their substance had disappeared and their place been taken by the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ.

But no notable philosopher since the Reformation, outside the Roman Church, has believed in such an unintelligible and baseless doctrine of substance. They hold that, if you destroy every attribute or accident of the bread, the substance itself is also destroyed. The substance cannot be separated from all the attributes or components which constitute it.

Hence, from the standpoint of his own day, Wycliffe rightly taught that Transubstantiation was bad philosophy; for it gave accidents without substance, and substance without accidents.

Next, Wycliffe rightly insisted that such a conception of the Eucharist led to idolatry.

How modern is all this thought of Wycliffe! But when Wycliffe's manifesto on Transubstantiation was made public, a cry of horror arose throughout England. For, if there was any doctrine upon which the supremacy of the priesthood was based, it was that of Transubstantiation, seeing that it implied that it was the priest's exclusive prerogative to perform a transcendent miracle in the Mass—a prerogative which, if acknowledged, raised even the meanest and most immoral celebrant of this priestly function far above the noblest and greatest of earth's best and proudest laymen or princes. Transubstantiation thus became the *articulus ecclesiæ stantis aut cadentis*—that is, the absolutely essential doctrine of the Mediæval Church, as it is of the Latin Church

of the present day. Its rejection, therefore, by Wycliffe led to the expulsion of the Wycliffites from the University of Oxford, which had hitherto been their stronghold and house of defence, and likewise to the suppression of Wycliffe's teaching in high places. This signal and apparently irrevocable disaster, which befell the Wycliffite movement, took place in 1382. It was due in the main to Courtenay, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, backed by the King, the priesthood, the monks, friars, and all the other thoughtless ecclesiastics that entered the fray against Wycliffe. But since Courtenay's temporary conquest of the Wycliffite movement was not due to advancing thought nor to a deepening of the spiritual life, but to ignorance and a consequent holding fast to the lower spiritual and intellectual conceptions of the Dark Ages, Courtenay's victory was essentially a pyrrhic victory, and won at a tremendous cost, as we shall see presently. Courtenay and his partisans seemed to have achieved an irremediable victory, when they succeeded in cutting off the Wycliffite movement from its alliance with the best culture of the day in England's two great universities—first and chiefly of Oxford, and next of Cambridge.

Notwithstanding, alone and undaunted, Wycliffe still held on his way, and when the combined authorities of Church and State sought to extort from him a recantation of his teaching, he calmly met their demand with a fresh declaration of its truth, and closed his profession of faith with the words of untroubled assurance: "I believe that in the end the truth will conquer." Henceforth he looked no longer for support to the great ones of the universities, of the Church or the State. He now made his appeal, and this appeal is the first of its kind, to the English nation as a whole, and that, of course, was mainly to the laity. By a

constant stream of writings, mainly and chiefly of translations of the Vulgate into the Midland English dialect of his time, and couched in the homespun English of his day, he addressed the merchants, the traders, the artisans, the ploughmen, and the peasantry at large, and in the course of his propaganda gained such a mastery of his native tongue, that quite unwittingly he became the creator of the most vigorous prose style yet achieved in England, and thus became the father of our modern English prose, in which he expressed his ever-maturing thought in such terse and vehement sentences, in such stinging ironies and sarcasms, as waked even the dullest minds into active questioning and thinking.

Two remarkable results followed on the triumph of the reactionary Archbishop of Canterbury and his colleagues. First, by their intolerance of all opinions that conflicted with their own they doomed the University of Oxford to over a hundred years of utter intellectual stagnation. Oxford became orthodox from the mediæval standpoint, but at the same time, as a centre of learning, a wholly pitiful, contemptible, mean, and sordid institution. How humiliating was its mental sloth and utter barrenness in the fifteenth century, when contrasted with the great productivity it displayed in the first two centuries of its comparative freedom! No single act of Church or State has ever brought such a blighting and devastating influence on the intellectual and spiritual life of England throughout her entire history. Owing to Courtenay and his coadjutors, the fifteenth century is notorious as the most arid and sterile period in English intellectual life since the Norman Conquest. With the second result that followed, we shall deal in our next and final lecture. It is of a religious character that appealed to the people at large.

XXII

JOHN WYCLIFFE

"Of whom the world was not worthy."—Heb. xi. 38.

AT the close of my last lecture on Wycliffe, I drew attention to the unrelenting persecution with which Courtenay and his partisans pursued Wycliffe, when Wycliffe denounced Transubstantiation, not only as bad philosophy but as leading to idolatry and magic. This bold denunciation of the false teaching of the Church resulted, as I have already said, in Courtenay's merciless attack on the great Reformer. The first result of this combined and irresistible attack of the Church and State on Wycliffe was the expulsion of all the Wycliffites—that is, the expulsion of most, if not all, of the men of independent thought, character, and religious conviction from the universities. Is it any wonder that the intellectual and spiritual life of the universities was thereby devastated for the entire fifteenth century; and not only the life of the universities, but that of the pre-Reformation Church as an organized whole in England? Assuredly the evil that is wrought by timorous and stupid ecclesiastics lives after them, and the minimum of good they achieve is so often, to use the Shakespearian phrase, "interred with their bones."

But Courtenay's seeming overthrow of the entire Wycliffite movement issued in consequences of which he had not the slightest apprehension; for Courtenay's seemingly triumphant destruction of the Wycliffite movement proved in reality to be the most effective means in the long run of the reforma-

tion of religion throughout England and the world as a whole. With this second and wholly unexpected result of Courtenay's action we shall now deal.

When the Wycliffites were expelled from the universities and from every high office in Church and State, they carried their teachings to the humbler classes, and found a ready response in the cottage and workshop, among the peasants in the Chilterns and other parts of the southern counties; in the chief cities, such as London and Bristol, where artisans, small traders, occasionally a priest, and sometimes a man of means met secretly and read the Epistles and Gospels in English, and read them, as it is recorded, "in Wycliffe's damnable works." Thus Lollardy, which in certain essential aspects carried on Wycliffe's teaching, became native to the soil of England, as well as the reading of the Bible in English, and that despite the definite refusal of the Church to allow the laity, save with a very few exceptions, either to possess or to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue for over one hundred and fifty years after Wycliffe's death. Thus it came about that such of the laity as could read, eagerly read the Bible secretly, and its teachings became so familiar to the popular mind that Wycliffe's adversaries complained that the laity, both men and women who could read, were better acquainted with the Scriptures than the most intelligent of the clergy.

In fact, the influence of the Wycliffite movement became so great in England, that it was popularly said, though the statement was, of course, a gross exaggeration, that "every second man you met was a Lollard." [1]

Other results inevitably followed. The Church, which till the era of Wycliffe had been the herald and promoter of every advance in thought and morals, lost by its illiterate and reactionary efforts its moral and intellectual leadership, though

[1] Trevelyan, *History of England*, p. 250.

it retained its vast privileges, its immeasurable wealth, and its pitiless persecuting powers. By virtue of its immense properties in every county of England, as well as of its hereditary prestige, it exerted its great powers in preventing all advance in freedom of thought and in spiritual development. Is it any wonder, under such circumstances, that it came to be hated by large sections of the people, and that this hatred became so profound that it was a popular saying that, "if Abel had been a priest, Cain would have been acquitted by a jury of London citizens"?[1] Many of these Lollards suffered martyrdom at the stake rather than recant their opinions.

When the universities in the fifteenth century were darkened by intellectual and moral eclipse, the spiritual traditions of the Wycliffites and of the Lollards were still taught secretly in the cottages, hamlets, villages, and towns of England. In the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the revival of this teaching became widespread, and its adherents attested the sincerity of their convictions by their deaths through the kindly offices of their Mother Church. Nevertheless, the Wycliffite movement persisted, till, reinvigorated by Luther's Protestant movement in Germany, it ultimately culminated in the English Reformation. But as a modern historian observes: "Every important aspect of the English Reformation was of native origin. All (of them) can be traced back as far as Wycliffe, and some much farther."[2]

But though the teachings of Wycliffe survived to the Reformation mainly among the persecuted sects, such as the Lollards, it was far otherwise in Bohemia. In 1383, Anne of Bohemia, the daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., married Richard II.[3] The marriage was a very happy one, but

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 288. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 250.

[3] Richard's portrait, one of the oldest English portraits in existence, is preserved for all who would see it in the Sanctuary of this great Abbey.

Anne survived it only eleven years. Yet this marriage led to further and unlooked-for results ; for it brought Bohemia under the influence of Wycliffe's writings. During Anne's lifetime, and after her death, Wycliffe's followers carried Wycliffe's works to Bohemia, where they were eagerly studied, and where they won the adhesion of the great Bohemian Reformer, John Huss, who sealed his loyalty to the Reformed doctrine by his death at the stake. So also died Jerome of Prague. At Prague, Wycliffe's books were publicly burnt as heretical. From Bohemia the Reformation spread northwards, and thus the spirit of the English Reformer influenced not only the Churches of Great Britain and Bohemia, but of Germany and of Holland, and in fact all the Reformed Churches of Europe.

In tracing the influence of Wycliffe's teaching I have necessarily dealt with results that did not occur till generations after his death.

I must now return and recount briefly his teachings on some of the great questions that divided Christendom. Like Wesley, four hundred years later, who regarded all Christendom as his parish, Wycliffe regarded all England from the same standpoint, though he did not express the fact in so many words. Accordingly, at Lutterworth he trained a body of poor priests, who were to act not only as itinerant preachers but also to visit every town, hamlet, or house that would admit them. Their duty was to teach the primitive gospel of Christ and attack the mediæval abuses that were destroying Christendom. From his induction into the parsonage of Lutterworth are to be dated Wycliffe's most trenchant criticisms of the folly and corruption of the clergy. These steadily developed into a systematic attack on the established order of the Church. From his censure of the harmful political elements in the papal system, he passed on

to an attack on its doctrinal teaching, as we have already seen in the case of Transubstantiation.

But to be more definite. First of all, he laid it down as a fundamental element of his teaching that the Christian religion should consist, first and foremost, in the personal relation of the individual to Christ, without the intervention of priest or Pope or layman, and not in his being a member of any organized ecclesiastical community. Such personal religion could not, it was true, unless exceptionally, originate or be maintained apart from corporate worship. Nevertheless, the direct communion of the soul with God was the one thing indispensable in true religion. Though a man were a priest or cardinal, or the Pope himself, and had no such knowledge of God in Christ, how was he to teach to others that supreme spiritual experience, to which he was himself an utter stranger ?

No observance of ecclesiastical forms or ceremonies, however zealous, as it often was, or perfunctory, as indubitably it generally was, could fit him for such a spiritual office. I may use Wycliffe's own strong words in this connection and say, " if a man was damned, he was damned," not through the censure or ex-communication of the Church, but " through his own guilt."

Next, since the New Testament taught that in Christ there could neither be bond nor free, but that all were one in Him, Wycliffe raised his voice against the sin of slavery, and strongly asserted its wholly un-Christian character. It is true that, though some of the Popes and clergy enforced on laymen the duty of freeing their slaves, the historian Hallam observes, that they did not practise what they preached, for that the serfs on Church lands were amongst the last to be emancipated.

Further, Wycliffe taught his preachers to read the

Scriptures in English, for which, as I have repeatedly stated, he provided them with a translation from the Latin Bible. He taught them also to attack the Papacy as it was then constituted, the degenerate priests, monks, and friars, and to denounce such religious practices of his own day as the worship of relics, the sale of pardons, and the purchase of Masses for the soul. In short, he instructed his hearers to condemn unconditionally the whole traffic in penances and payments in satisfaction for sin ; for that thereby the laity were brought into an anti-Christian bondage to the priesthood, and religion was thus, though Wycliffe, so far as I am aware, did not draw the inference, debased into a form of magic. Amongst other superstitions he denounced prayers to the saints. In Wycliffe's day this was the universal practice. In the Church of Rome it is the practice still. I know personally one well-bred Roman Catholic girl who is passing through a university course, though, it is true, her preliminary training was derived from a convent school. Can you believe it ? When she loses any possession, small or great, she says she prays to St. Anthony of Padua, and that St. Anthony sooner or later enables her to recover her lost possessions. Now, it is clear that this girl was never taught to use her reason. If St. Anthony hears the prayers directed to him throughout the whole world, he must be present everywhere—that is, he must be omnipresent, and is so far Divine ; and if he can find all lost possessions, he must be omniscient as well. In fact, he cannot be reasonably distinguished from Deity. Now, if this girl had been an ignorant peasant, I might not have been astonished. But seeing that she is of gentle birth and well educated (?), it shows how deeply the pagan element has penetrated the soul of the Roman Church.

Again, we must observe how very spiritually minded

Wycliffe was; how free from the blight of ignorance and superstition; how modern, in the best sense of the word.

To return. In denouncing the worship of saints, Wycliffe begins with language which is restrained and reasonable, but which soon passes into bitter irony and sarcasm. Thus he writes: "Foolish is the man who, instead of clinging to Christ alone, seeks the mediation of some one else. No man should seek first the mediation of the saints; for Christ is more ready to help than any saint." It may likewise turn out that the devotee is worshipping a canonized reprobate and not a saint. But, whether good or bad, it is a wrong practice to seek the intervention of the saints. "As well employ," he writes, "the court fool to obtain an interview with a good and gracious king as to seek reconciliation with Christ through one of His followers." [1]

In order to equip his preachers with the knowledge they required, Wycliffe worked at Lutterworth with a fierce and ceaseless energy, issuing manifestoes on all the subjects at issue between him and the hierarchy, and, far more important still, translating book after book of the Bible into the English tongue, until the entire translation was completed. Although the thought never entered the great Reformer's mind, he was at the same time moulding the Midland dialect of the eastern counties into a great vehicle of thought—such as the world had never before witnessed—and was becoming quite unwittingly the father of English prose, in a far greater degree than Chaucer was becoming the father of English verse. I have stated these facts before, but they cannot be stated too frequently. Wycliffe was the first translator of the Bible into English prose, and in so doing he unwittingly became the moulder and master of the greatest language the world has ever known.

[1] Neander, *Church History*, vol. ix. p. 243.

Wycliffe's work had now come to a close. He died peacefully in 1384 at Lutterworth Rectory, and his body there received honourable and tearful burial at the hands of his followers. But, alas! the theological hatred of Rome could not let the questions at issue be fought out on reasonable and spiritual grounds. The hate of Rome pursued Wycliffe beyond the grave. The Council of Constance, convoked in 1414 by John XXIII., one of the three rival Popes, solemnly condemned Wycliffe as a heretic, and ordered his body to be disinterred and burnt. Unhappily for the honour of the English Church, a bishop of Lincoln undertook this infamous task. With the perpetration of this crowning scandal, the Papacy hoped that Wycliffe's influence would receive its *coup de grâce*. But herein the hierarchy was just as grievously mistaken as before. The spirit of revolt which Wycliffe had evoked against the superstitions of the Mediæval Church, superstitions which were contrary to the judgment, not only of the thinkers and scholars of Christendom, but even of men of the most mediocre intelligence, could not be suppressed.

Moreover, this revolt against superstition was kept alive and still further inflamed by a spiritual force stronger than the remonstrances of isolated scholars and thinkers, and this force was nothing else than the Scriptures themselves, which were now, through Wycliffe's translation, put within the reach of all the laity that could read. Had Wycliffe not taken his life in his hand and stood forward as a fearless champion of the Reformed doctrines against a world in arms, the Reformation of the sixteenth century could, humanly speaking, have hardly come within the range of things possible. After the Reformation, only the half-educated, the half-developed, and credulous nations of Europe could continue to profess a conscientious belief in

the pagan superstitions that in the darker ages had gained a footing in Christendom. Men of this lower type could still honestly adhere to a corrupt and corrupting Church. But the marvel is that, in every age since the Reformation, some men of undoubted ability, learning, and judgment still clung, and still cling to the Church that satisfied the claims of the dark ages—ages which profoundly believed in magic, witchcraft, and kindred delusions. The problem is one that only Omniscience can solve.

We must now close this record of one of the greatest of the many great Englishmen that God has given to this dear land of ours, and this I will do in words recalling in some measure what an old writer said on this subject, though I cannot recall the exact form of his words nor yet his name.[1]

When, at the bidding of the Council of Constance, Wycliffe's body was disinterred and burnt, its ashes, says this writer, were cast into the nearest running stream, and in due course carried into the Avon, and from the Avon into the Severn, and from the Severn into the sea, and thence they were carried by the ocean tides throughout the world, representing in a figure the influence which one true, fearless man exerted in the pre-Reformation days, and has exerted on behalf of Christendom as a whole, an influence that has ever since been carried hither and thither throughout the whole world by the ever-flowing tides of the Spirit of God.

[1] Since writing the above a friend has furnished me with the name of the author and his words, *i.e.* Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (1655), vol. i. p. 171. The words are: "Cast them (*i.e.* the ashes) into Swift, this brook into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over."

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